

7954

JAARBERICHT

VAN HET VOORAZIATISCH-EGYPTISCH GENOOTSCHAP

EX ORIENTE LUX

ANNUAIRE DE LA SOCIÉTÉ
ORIENTALE "EX ORIENTE LUX"

No. 26
(1979-1980)



LEIDEN
1980

VOORAZIATISCH-EGYPTISCH GENOOTSCHAP "EX ORIENTE LUX"

Secrétariat: Noordeindsplein 4a, 2311 AH Leiden, Nederland; C.C.P. (Postrekening) No. 229501;
Banque: AMRO-Bank, Leiden, no. 45.18.09.009

Publications

JAARBERICHT EX ORIENTE LUX (ANNUAIRE)

T. I (nos 1-5), 1933-1938. XXXII + 500 p., XL pl., 26 ill., in-4	épuisé
T. II (nos 6-8), 1939-1943. XLIV + 816 p., XL pl., 91 ill., in-4	épuisé
T. III (nos 9-10 avec supplément), 1944-1948. XXIV + 576 p., XXXII pl., 97 ill., 3 cartes, in-4	f 150.—
T. IV-V (nos 11-15 avec suppléments), 1949-1958. XXIV + 822 p., CVII pl., 45 ill., 5 cartes, in-4, relié	f 200.—
T. VI (nos 16-19), 1959-1966. XIV + 580 p., XXIV pl., 27 ill. et cartes, in-4, relié (Les nos 16-19 se vendent séparément à f 50.—)	f 200.—
T. VII (nos 20-23), 1967-1974. X + 439 p., LIV pl., in-4	f 200.—
No. 24 (1975-1976; 110 p., II pl.) et no. 25 (1977-1978: 82 p., XII pl.) à	f 50.—

MEDEDELINGEN EN VERHANDELINGEN (MÉMOIRES)

No. 7 Kernmomenten der antieke beschaving en haar moderne beleving. 1947, 278 p. 19 pl., 144 ill., avec contributions de B. A. VAN PROOSDIJ, A. DE BUCK, TH. C. VRIEZEN, E. L. SEELIGMANN, A. A. KAMPMAN, F. M. TH. DE LIAGRE BÖHL, P. VAN DER MEER, J. H. KRAMERS, W. VAN OS et B. H. STRICKER. In-4,	f 50.—
No. 8 E. DHORME, <i>Hommage à la mémoire de l'éminent assyriologue François Thureau Dangin (1872-1944)</i> . 1946, 35 p., I portrait, in-4,	f 10.—
No. 10 B. H. STRICKER, <i>De Grote Zeeslang</i> . 1953, 27 p., 8 ill., in-4	f 10.—
No. 11 B. H. STRICKER, <i>Overstroming van de Nijl</i> . 1956, 32 p., I carte, in-4,	f 10.—
No. 12 J. M. A. JANSSEN, <i>Egyptische Oudheden verzameld door W. A. van Leer</i> . 1957, 40 p., 18 pl., in-4	f 25.—
No. 13 T. JANSMA, <i>Oost-Westelijke verkenningen in de dertiende eeuw. De reizen van de Francisciaan Willem van Rubroek en de Nestoriaanse prelaat Barsauma</i> . 1959, 69 p., in-4,	f 20.—
No. 14 B. H. STRICKER, <i>De Geboorte van Horus I</i> . 1963, 86 p., 13 ill., in-4,	f 30.—
No. 15 J. ZANDEE, <i>An Ancient Egyptian Crossword Puzzle</i> . 1966, VI + 79 p., frontispiece, 3 ill., in-4	f 25.—
No. 16 J. HOFTIJZER, <i>Religio Aramaica. Godsdienstige verschijnselen in aramese teksten</i> . 1968, VIII + 63 p., 1 krt., 4 pl., in-4	f 25.—
No. 17 B. H. STRICKER, <i>De Geboorte van Horus II</i> . 1968, p. 87-207, 13 ill., in-4	f 30.—
No. 18 B. H. STRICKER, <i>De Geboorte van Horus III</i> . 1975, p. 208-347, 13 ill., in-4	f 50.—
No. 19 J. ZANDEE, <i>'The Teachings of Silvanus' and Clement of Alexandria. A new document of Alexandrian theology</i> . 1977, VIII + 166 p., in-4	f 55.—
No. 20 R. BORGER, <i>Drei Klassizisten: Alma Tadema, Ebers, Vosmaer. Mit Bibliographie der Werke Alma Tadema's</i> . 1978, IV + 48 p., 4 pl., in-4	f 30.—
No. 21 M. STOL, <i>On Trees, Mountains, and Millstones in the Ancient Near East</i> . 1979, XII + 104 p., in-4	f 40.—

BULLETIN PHOENIX (in Dutch)

Tome I-VIII (1955-1962), XVI + 460 p., 266 ill., in-8,	f 80.—
Tome IX-XII (1963-1966), VIII + 381 p., 180 ill., in-8,	f 60.—
Tome XIII-XVI (1967-1970), 412 p., 137 ill., in-8,	f 60.—
Tome XVII-XX (1971-1974), 388 p., 104 ill., in-8,	f 80.—
Nos. 21 (1975), 22 (1976), 23 (1977), in-8,	à f 25.—
Nos. 24 (1978), 25 (1979), 26 (1980), in-8,	à f 30.—

On est prié d'adresser ses commandes à Ex Oriente Lux, Noordeindsplein 4a, 2311 AH Leiden, Nederland

No. 26

1979-1980

JAARBERICHT

VAN HET VOORAZIATISCH-EGYPTISCH GENOOTSCHAP

EX ORIENTE LUX

GEVESTIGD TE LEIDEN

OPGERICHT 22 MEI 1933

ANNUAIRE DE LA SOCIÉTÉ ORIENTALE "EX ORIENTE LUX"

Publié sous la direction de M. S. H. G. HEERMA VAN VOSS (égyptologie), M. N. VAN LOON (archéologie du Proche-Orient Ancient) et K. R. VEENHOF (secrétaire de rédaction; Schubertlaan 50, 2102 EM Heemstede, Nederland).



TABLE DE MATIÈRES

Towards a minimal definition of the goddess Mut	H. TE VELDE 3
The birth of Horus according to the Ebers Papyrus	JAC. VAN DIJK 10
Die ägyptischen Sothisdaten und ihre Bezugsorte	WINFRIED BARTA 26
An Egyptian mummy in the Bijbels Museum, Amsterdam (pl. I-II)	T. H. M. FALKE 35
An early Ur III copy of the Abū Šālābikh "names and professions" list (pl. III)	F. M. FALES - TH. J. H. KRISPIJN 39
The cuneiform texts of the Bijbels Museum, Amsterdam	GEERD HAAYER 47
Idumaea	C. H. J. DE GEUS 53
Every-day life as creation. A stylistic analysis of b. Ta'anit 23 ^{a-b}	J. P. FOKKELMAN 75
Abréviations	91

ÉCHANGES
N° 52743

TOWARDS A MINIMAL DEFINITION OF THE GODDESS MUT*)

H. TE VELDE - GRONINGEN

One of the many goddesses worshipped in Ancient Egypt was the goddess Mut. Apart from some scattered notices in Egyptological studies, mainly by Sethe, Rusch, Bonnet, Yoyotte and Sauneron¹⁾, little particular attention has been paid to Mut, nor has she ever been the subject of an exhaustive monograph, which might have let us formulate a minimal definition of her. Mut does not play a striking part in Egyptian mythology, her name is found rarely if at all in Pyramid texts, Coffin texts or Book of the Dead, and her vagueness²⁾ has been complained of, while she is so frequently depicted in temples in Thebes and elsewhere as companion of Amon. Until recently, the temple of Mut in South Karnak was one of the least investigated spots in Thebes³⁾. Fortunately, R. Fazzini of the Brooklyn Museum began digging there in 1976⁴⁾. The data collected by him and his staff will, besides other results, undoubtedly lead to a more clearly defined and livelier image of Mut.

As the editors of the *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* have invited me to write an article on Mut, I have been going into the material, and would like to draw attention to some aspects and problems connected with this goddess.

Mut makes a late appearance in Egyptian religion, as far as we know from our present philological and archaeological sources. In the first half of Egyptian history she hardly appears, that is until the fifteenth century B.C. The sparse data anterior to the 18th dynasty are uncertain and controversial. The name of the

*) Lecture given at the Second International Congress of Egyptologists held in Grenoble 10-15 September 1979 under the title 'Some Aspects of the goddess Mut'. I express my thanks to Mrs. G. E. van Baaren-Pape, who has translated the Dutch text into English.

¹⁾ K. Sethe, *Amon und die acht Urgötter von Hermopolis* (APAW, Jhrg. 1929, Philos-Hist. Kl. nr. 4, Berlin 1929), 28-30; A. Rusch, in: Pauly-Wissowa, *Real Encyclopädie* XVI/1, 928-935; H. Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte* (henceforth *RÄRG*) 491-494; J. Yoyotte, *RdEg* 14 (1962), 101-110; S. Sauneron, *BIFAO* 62 (1964), 50-57 and *BIE* 45 (1968), 45-52.

²⁾ "Sie war eben im Kern eine farblose Ortsgöttin" (Bonnet, *RÄRG*, 494), "a rather pallid figure who only achieved eminence as wife of the powerful Amon" (C.J. Bleeker, *Hathor and Thoth* [Leiden 1973], 58) ... "die keinen fest umrissenen Charakter hat" (G. Roeder, *Die ägyptische Götterwelt* [Zürich-Stuttgart 1959], 255).

³⁾ *PM* II², 255-279; M. Benson and J. Gourlay, *The Temple of Mut in Asher* (London 1899).

⁴⁾ R. Fazzini and J. Manning, 'Work in the Temple Precinct of the Goddess Mut at Southern Karnak', *Newsletter American Research Centre in Egypt* 101-102 (1977), 12-24, and 108 (1979), 19-20.

Copyright 1980 by Ex Oriente Lux, Leiden

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced or translated in any form, by print, photoprint, microfilm, microfiche or any other means without written permission from the publisher

PRINTED IN BELGIUM

goddess Mut is written with the vulture with flagellum⁵⁾, sometimes with the addition of the bread sign -t. Mut is generally supposed to be a vulture goddess like Nekhbet. Yet since the N.K. we see her depicted in human form, sometimes lion-headed, but not as a vulture like Nekhbet. The oldest representation of Mut seems to be a lion-headed figure with inscription *mwt* on a so-called 'magic wand' of c. 1730 B.C.⁶⁾.

Mut usually wears the vulture cap like Nekhbet, but other goddesses wore this earlier than Mut, e.g. Iunyt and Tenenet in the M.K.⁷⁾. In the N.K. and after it is worn by various goddesses, queens and others. Mut's name is written with a vulture, not because she is a so-called vulture goddess, but because the word *mwt* meaning mother is already written the vulture hieroglyph in the Pyramid texts. Apparently the word mother (*mwt*) was written with the vulture ideogram because this represented a concept of joyous motherhood⁸⁾. Rusch⁹⁾ and others have contested this connection, maintaining that Coptic showed name and word were not homophonous. Beside *maau* however, Coptic has the Upper Egyptian dialectal forms *moo* and *mou*¹⁰⁾, so that the name Mut can very well mean mother, as is confirmed by puns in Egyptian texts¹¹⁾.

Starting with the idea that Mut's name means mother, one might conjecture that Mut was an archaic mother-goddess worshipped in Thebes of old. Lack of evidence, however, leaves this an unproven theory at present. Let us hope that the new excavations will make it clear whether Mut was worshipped in a temple at Karnak before the N.K.¹²⁾.

So far we have no indication that Mut played a part in the religion of the O.K. and before. In *Pyr.* 123 a goddess Mowet is named, written with the owl, quail chick, three ripples and the bread sign -t. She can hardly have anything to do with Mut, but might be a personification of semen¹³⁾.

⁵⁾ Gardiner, Signlist, G 15.

⁶⁾ H. Altenmüller, *Die Apotropaia und die Götter Mittelägyptens* (Diss. München 1965), 45 (nr. 50).

⁷⁾ M. Th. Derchain-Urtel, *Synkretismus in Ägyptischer Ikonographie. Die Göttin Tjenenet* (Wiesbaden 1979), 37ff.

⁸⁾ Th. Hopfner, *Der Tierkult der alten Ägypter* (Wien 1913), 104ff. and E. Brunner-Traut in *LA* II, 514 s.v. 'Geier'.

⁹⁾ Rusch, *op. cit.*, 928f.

¹⁰⁾ W. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary*, 197a. In the pronunciation of the word for mother the old t was dropped but was carefully retained in the name of the goddess as we know from the Greek rendering. One might compare this phenomenon with the difference that some Calvinistic protestants in the Netherlands make when pronouncing the word for lord. *Heer* is a human lord, but *Here* (sometimes written *Heere*) is the lord Jesus Christ or God.

¹¹⁾ Mother (*imst*) of the creator-god in this her name of Mut (Sauneron, *Esna V*, 108).

¹²⁾ Statues of the M.K. have been found in the precinct of Mut (Benson and Gourlay, *op. cit.*) and W. C. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt*, I (New York 1953), 179, remarked that the temple of Mut was perhaps founded in the reign of Amenemhet I.

¹³⁾ R. O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts* (Oxford 1969), 38.

In *CT V* 295f we read: The knife of Mut has been placed in my hand, but others translate instead of Mut, 'mother' or 'Nekhbet'¹⁴⁾. In Hammamat texts it is certain we should read 'Isis, the goddess and mother of Min'¹⁵⁾ and not 'the divine Isis, Min and Mut'¹⁶⁾.

For Mut the earliest references are found in proper names of the M.K.¹⁷⁾, yet there again one must take account of a possible reading of the vulture as mother or Nekhbet. One of the names of the 29 snake goddesses in the Hymns to the Diadem of the Pharaohs, written with the vulture ideogram, should probably be read as Mut¹⁸⁾. In the Coffin text mentioned above, Mut is also determined with the snake.

This sparse material before the N.K. would hardly justify the conclusion that Mut was a mother goddess and a goddess of crowns if this were not confirmed by later material. From the 15th century onward Mut is constantly named and depicted upon temple walls, stelae and elsewhere. Very telling is the word 'passim' s.v. Mut in the indexes of some volumes of Porter-Moss. Since the 18th dynasty she is the companion of Amon, forming the Theban triad with him and Khonsu-the Child. One of the earliest representations of this triad is on the north side of the 8th pylon in Karnak and dates from the time of Hatshepsut¹⁹⁾. Mut is then already wearing the vulture cap and the pschent.

In the time of Hatshepsut, Senmut²⁰⁾ had building done for the temple of Mut in South Karnak, and the scarce data concerning the cult of Mut and the personnel of her temple before the time of Hatshepsut become far more numerous in her reign and after it²¹⁾.

Mut does not yet appear in the myth of the birth of the divine king at Deir el Bahri, though she does in the version in the temple at Luxor from the time of Amenhotep III²²⁾. Amenhotep III and pharaohs after him are called son of Amon and Mut. Yet Hatshepsut is the first pharaoh said to be 'born of Mut and Amun'²³⁾.

I have indicated the rise of Mut in the time of Hatshepsut, but I am unable to give a satisfactory explanation how it was that just while Egypt was ruled by a

¹⁴⁾ J. Yoyotte, *RdEg* 14 (1962), 102: Mut; J. Zandee, *JEOL* 24 (1975-1976), 45: mother; W. Guglielmi in her still unpublished study on the goddess Meret: Nekhbet.

¹⁵⁾ W. Schenkel, *Memphis-Herakleopolis-Theben* (Wiesbaden 1965), 265.

¹⁶⁾ Ch. Breasted, *ARE*, I, § 441.

¹⁷⁾ See note 47.

¹⁸⁾ A. Erman, *Hymnen an das Diadem der Pharaonen* (APAW, Jhrg. 1911, Philos.-Hist. Kl. nr. 1, Berlin 1911) 15 and 50f.

¹⁹⁾ *PM* II², 174.

²⁰⁾ *Urk* IV, 409.

²¹⁾ W. Helck, *Materialien zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Neuen Reiches I* (Abh. Mainz, Wiesbaden 1961), 60-62.

²²⁾ H. Brunner, *Die Geburt des Gottkönigs* (Wiesbaden 1964), 183, 114ff. and Pl. 11.

²³⁾ W. C. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt*, II (Cambridge Mass. 1959), 105.

woman, the cult developed of a goddess wearing the pschent, the double crown of the pharaohs.

Mut may be represented as a goddess with a child on her lap²⁴), and she is accounted the mother of Khonsu²⁵). Often she is called the mother of the pharaoh, and the delivery of the goddess and birth of the divine child was celebrated in her temple²⁶). It is she who gives strength to the pregnant woman and delivers her in due time²⁷). Yet Mut is not merely the divine mother. Even with a child on her lap she often, though not always, wears the double crown. Several gods, such as Atum and Horus may wear the double crown, but Mut is the only goddess to wear the pschent over the vulture cap. Should another goddess, exceptionally, wear this pschent, then one can say she is wearing the crown of Mut²⁸). This cannot mean that she is a queen in the sense of spouse of Amon-the-King-of-the-Gods, precisely because the pschent is *not* the queen's crown.

Mut's special gifts to the pharaoh she has borne (*msi*) and sometimes brought up (*rnn*)²⁹) are the age-span of Atum, jubilee festivals (*sd*) and also the double crown³⁰). Mut is one of the goddesses of royalty and coronation who personify and bear kingship, as Nekhbet wears the white crown of Upper Egypt, or Uto, Neith or Amaunet wear the red crown. Mut wears both crowns. The Mut-headdress is not the vulture cap, as is sometimes still said, prompted perhaps by the idea that Mut is a vulture goddess. Over the vulture cap Mut wears the pschent. In the so-called Crossword-hymn to Mut it is said that the white and the red crown are fastened upon her head and furthermore that the headdress of Atum has been given her with which she rules the two lands. 'Her temple is the sky, her house is this land, and her shrine is every city'³¹).

Some epithets are regularly added to Mut's name when she is mentioned or depicted. The great one (*wrt*) would seem, mythologically speaking, to characterize Mut as an ancient goddess and not a recent arrival. Neither as a young girl, but as a person of consequence, a matron. Many goddesses have this epithet, which has even been hypostatized as a goddess Thoreris, but Mut-Weret is such a standing term that it can be said "It is ... strange to find Mut without this epithet"³²).

²⁴) Cairo C.G. 39369-39375; G. Daressy, *Statues de Divinités* (Le Caire 1906), II, Pl. LXIII.

²⁵) H. Junker, *Der grosse Pylon des Tempels der Isis in Philä* (Wien 1958), 187.

²⁶) Pap. Leiden T 32, III 22-24 and B. H. Stricker, OMRO 34 (1953), 267.

²⁷) G. Roeder, *Von Debod bis Kalabscha* (Le Caire 1911), 61 f., § 160, Taf. 19.

²⁸) M. Th. Derchain-Urtel, *op. cit.*, 54 ff.

²⁹) *Urk.* IV 1655 f.

³⁰) Opet 143, 167, see C. de Wit, *Les inscriptions du temple d'Opet à Karnak*, III (Bruxelles 1968), 79, 96. G. Roeder, *op. cit.* (note 27), § 177, Taf. 23.

³¹) H. M. Stewart, *JEA* 57 (1971), 104.

³²) So I. E. S. Edwards, *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum, Fourth Series* (London 1960), text vol., 77, in his commentary on the oracular amuletic decrees of the Late New Kingdom.

Mut is mistress of Asheru (*nbt išrw*). Yoyotte and Sauneron³³) have shown that originally Asheru is not only the place where Mut was worshipped in South Karnak, but that it was a crescent-shaped lake. Mythologically it is a place where lion-goddesses were appeased. There was an asheru of Uto near Memphis, one of Bastet in Bubastis, of Sakhmet in Memphis. Since the 18th dynasty, the asheru of Mut in South Karnak where her temple was became by far the most renowned. This temple of Mut is first mentioned in the tomb of Ineni³⁴), who lived from the time of Amenhotep I till into the time of Thutmose III, making him a contemporary of Hatshepsut.

Epithets such as 'mistress of the sky' (*nbt pt*) and 'eye of the sun' (*irt R*) common to many other goddesses, characterize Mut as mother and daughter of the sun or Amon-Re. Mistress of Karnak (*nbt ipt iswt*) typifies her as spouse of Amon and local goddess. Her most common epithet as a Theban goddess is still 'mistress of Asheru'. In Amon's train she was naturally worshipped in many places in Egypt and Nubia. By herself she was worshipped near Antaeopolis as mistress of Megeb³⁵), in Memphis as Mut in the house of Ptah, in Gizeh as Mut-Khenty-Abu-Neteru, and at Heliopolis as Mut *hr-snwt-s*³⁶).

To enumerate here all the epithets Mut shares with other goddesses would lead us too far.

As spouse of Amon, Mut can be called Mistress of the house of Amon (*hnwt pr Imn*)³⁷). As already indicated, her relationship to Amon-Re can be expressed not only as man and wife, but also as mother and son and daughter and father³⁸). She is "the mother who became a daughter" and "the daughter-mother who made her begetter" or again: "The mother of her sire, the daughter who became mother, who brought forth the light (the moon god Khonsu) anew". With Sethe and Frankfort, one may think here of a female counterpart of the kamutef theology. Here incest is a metaphor to denote the renewal of divine life as expressed in the shape of a goddess. This is the typically paradoxical form which all theology is obliged to give to intuitive religious insights³⁹). This divine life continually renewing

³³) S. Sauneron, *BIFAO* 62 (1964), 50; J. Yoyotte, *RdEg* 14 (1962), 101; E. Otto, *LÄ* I, 460-462 s.v. 'Ascheru'.

³⁴) Theban tomb 81; *Urk* IV 71.

³⁵) M. Heerma van Voss, *Phänix* 11 (1965), 261-263.

³⁶) J. Yoyotte, *RdEg* 14 (1962), 103.

³⁷) B. Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Medineh (1935-1940)*, fasc. II (Le Caire 1952), 79 and fig. 158. The relationship between Amon and Mut in the Theban triad and elsewhere is formal. The sexual nature of their relation is not stressed. In the hypostyle hall of the temple of Karnak Amon is often represented together with Mut, but when he appears as the ithyphallic Amon-Min his consort is not Mut, but Isis. See M. Münster, *Untersuchungen zur Göttin Isis von Alten bis zum Ende des Neuen Reiches* (Berlin 1968), 135.

³⁸) For this paragraph see K. Sethe, *Amun*, 29 f.

³⁹) H. Frankfort, *Kingship and the gods* (Chicago 1948), 177.

itself in the form of Mut is, more precisely, kingship, which brings forth the bearer of kingship, accompanies him, and is again brought forth by him.

In a late Egyptian wisdom text preserved in Leiden (*Pap. Insinger* 8, 18-19) we read: The work of Mut and Hathor is that which takes place among women, for there are good and bad women among those upon earth⁴⁰). According to the author of *Pap. Insinger* then, Mut is the goddess of the good women and Hathor the goddess of the bad women. We may wonder what is a good or a bad woman in the eyes of this Egyptian wisdom teacher. Perhaps we may conclude from the context that he means: Mut is the goddess of well-behaved women and Hathor the goddess of licentious women. The former conformed to the cultural pattern expected of an Egyptian woman, while the latter did not. Now it would be precipitate to define Mut with a line from an Egyptian wisdom text as "une fille bien rangée". She is not without dissipated⁴¹) and malevolent⁴²) traits, but in the general context of Egyptian religion and culture she is the stately lady of the crowns standing behind Amon and raising a protective hand by his shoulder. Hathor of course is not just a kind of divine prostitute, but we must not forget that Derchain has convincingly shown the minimal definition of Hathor to be «l'excitation sexuelle»⁴³).

Such is not the minimal definition of Mut. She is the royal lady, not the lover, even if the Egyptians could sometimes combine Mut and Hathor in a single figure⁴⁴). Mut is the divine woman, who gives life as mother and directs it as wearer of the crowns. The latter activity was men's work in Egypt. And indeed, in the vignette accompanying the later versions of *Book of the Dead* 164 Mut is

⁴⁰) A. Volten, *Das demotische Weisheitsbuch* (Analecta Aegyptiaca II, Kopenhagen 1941), 31. See also the remark of C. D. G. Müller in the *Gedenkschrift Otto, Fragen an die ägyptische Literatur* (Wiesbaden 1977), 352.

⁴¹) I. Gamert-Wallert, *Ägyptische und ägyptisierende Funde von der Iberischen Halbinsel* (Wiesbaden 1978), 317.

⁴²) See Ph. Derchain, *Le Papyrus Salt 825* (Bruxelles 1965), 144 s.: 'Mout, dame d'Icherou, une flamme est sur son visage, la dame de l'ombre, qui vit de sang, dame du gémissement dont elle vit'. More references on the malevolent Mut are to be found in: P. Vernus, *Athribis* (Le Caire 1978), 242. R. A. Caminos, *The Chronicle of Prince Osorkon* (Roma 1958) 72, comments: 'It is well known that Mut and Sakhmis were often identified with one another'.

⁴³) Ph. Derchain, *Hathor quadrifons* (Istanbul, 1972), 45.

⁴⁴) As men of all ages the Egyptians could find these two aspects of the mother and the lover in one feminine figure. J. Leclant, *Recherches sur les Monuments thébains de la XXV^e dynastie dite éthiopienne* (Le Caire 1965), 301, concludes from the material of that period: 'Hathor se trouve naturellement assimilée à Mout: toutes deux ne sont que des aspects, des noms du principe divin féminin', cf. 246-248. Sometimes the two goddesses are venerated together. A good example in J. Černý, *Egyptian Stelae in the Bankes collection* (Oxford 1958), no. 9.

provided with a phallus⁴⁵). Mut is not l'excitation sexuelle of a man but his mother, his wife, his daughter, the woman who is his companion⁴⁶).

Very many Egyptian names are formed with Mut⁴⁷), more than with the names of any other goddess, especially names of woman, but also of men. The Egyptian Kiki changed his name to Samut (son of Mut). In his tomb he praises his goddess⁴⁸):

"As for him whom Mut makes a protégé no god knows how to assail him, the favorite of the king of his time, being one who passes away into honor.

As for him whom Mut makes a protégé, no evil will attack him, and he will be sheltered every day until he joins the necropolis.

As for him whom Mut makes a protégé, how happy is his life!

The favors of the king which endue his body belong to the one who sets her in his heart.

As for him whom Mut makes a protégé when he issues from the womb, favor and fate are his, and beauty upon the brick. He is destined for honor.

As for him whom Mut makes a protégé how happy is he whom she loves.

No god will cast him down, being one who does not know death."

⁴⁵) Lepsius, *Todtenbuch*, spell 164. The vignette of *BD* 164 is described in the text: 'To be said over (an image of) Mut having 3 faces—one like the face of [the liongoddess] *Phbt* wearing twin plumes, another like a human face wearing the white crown and the red crown, another like a vulture's face wearing twin plumes—and a phallus and wings, with a lion's claws' (transl. T. G. Allen, *The Book of the Dead* (SAOC 37, Chicago 1974), 160f.)

⁴⁶) Exactly because Mut represents the femininity a man meets in his mother and also finds in the companionship of his sister, daughter, and wife, rather than 'l'excitation sexuelle' of the strange woman from outside the family, therefore Mut can all the more be represented as the woman with the phallus. In that case Mut appears as the so-called 'bad mother', see F. Sierksma, *Religie. Sexualiteit en Agressie* (Groningen 1979). In the context of the Book of the Dead Mut as the 'bad mother' can scare away the enemies of the mummy.

⁴⁷) H. Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen*, III (Glückstadt 1977), 58-59. Here names are enumerated composed with *mw* that are to be found in vol. I and II where particulars int. al. concerning dates are given.

⁴⁸) Translation: J. A. Wilson, *JNES* 29 (1970) 191. Text of Theban tomb 409: Abdul-Qader Muhammed, *ASAE* 59 (1966), pl. 48-54. See also P. Vernus, *RdEg* 30 (1978), 115-146.

THE BIRTH OF HORUS ACCORDING TO THE EBERS PAPYRUS*)

JAC. VAN DIJK — GRONINGEN

§ 1. In his monumental study *De Geboorte van Horus* Stricker¹⁾ presents us with an impressive reconstruction of the ideas of the ancient Egyptians concerning conception, pregnancy and birth; in essence the work is an extensive commentary on the texts and representations on the walls of the burial chamber of Ramesses VI which STRICKER interprets as an embryological treatise dealing with the birth and rebirth of the king. In this treatise embryological and cosmological terminology are interwoven, since both were viewed by the Egyptians as basically identical. That the author draws heavily on non-Egyptian sources (classical, Jewish, early-Christian) and that the Egyptians themselves are often quoted from classical authors is not only a result of Stricker's conviction of the unity of thought of the ancient cultures of the Mediterranean²⁾, but is indeed almost inevitable, since the material from ancient Egyptian sources is scarce and often rather ambiguous. Nevertheless an important study such as Dieter Müller's *Die Zeugung durch das Herz in Religion und Medizin der Ägypter*³⁾ shows that at least some of the ideas treated by Stricker⁴⁾ can be traced back to very ancient times.

The present article contains a re-interpretation of a well-known text, the second spell from the Ebers Papyrus (Eb. 1,12-2,1), which, as I hope to show, describes the rebirth of the Sun-god at dawn and at the same time the birth of Horus, son of Osiris. After a translation (§ 2) a commentary will elucidate the mythological background of the spell (§§ 3-6); in the final paragraphs (§§ 7-8) an attempt is made to analyse the spell as a whole and to trace the relations of myth and magic in this particular case.

*) I am indebted to Dr. H. te Velde for his critical remarks and to Mrs. S. van Gelder-Ottway who corrected the English text of this article.

¹⁾ B. H. Stricker, *De Geboorte van Horus* I-III (Leiden 1963-75), to be continued; hereafter cited as *Horus*.

²⁾ See the review of Ph. Derchain, *BiOr* 21 (1964), 158-159.

³⁾ *OrNS* 35 (1967), 247-274.

⁴⁾ *Horus* I, 28-31.

§ 2. The translation I propose for the text⁵⁾ runs (with omission of the two-fold enumeration of evil forces) as follows:

- (a) Another spell, FOR RELEASING ANY BANDAGE.
- (b) "Be released, be released!", said Isis.
- (c) Horus was released by Isis from the evil which was done to him by his brother Seth, when he killed his father Osiris.
- (d) Oh Isis, Great of Magic, release me, deliver me from everything evil..., like you were released and delivered from your son Horus,
- (e) for I have entered the fire,
I have come forth from the water,
and I will not go down into the East of today!
I have spoken being a new-born child,
being a prototype-child (?):
"Oh Rē, speak on behalf of your body,
Osiris, cry out on behalf of your offspring!"
Rē did speak on behalf of his body,
Osiris did cry out on behalf of his offspring.
- (f) You have rescued me from everything evil...!

§ 3. *ḳ.n.ī m ḥt, pr.n.ī m mw*. The fire (*ḥt*) and water (*mw*) of this phrase were interpreted by Sethe as "das Feuer der Krankheit und das Wasser des Heilmittels"⁶⁾; the editors of the *Grundriss* suggested that the text refers to "eine Art Feuer- und Wasserprobe als symbolische Wiedergeburt, zumal vorher und nachher auf die Geburt angespielt wird"⁷⁾, and this suggestion was followed up by Westendorf, who, taking fire and water together, recognized a reference to the Pool of Fire of BD 126, though his article is mainly concerned with the notion of immunity against fire and water⁸⁾. I think we should slightly modify Westendorf's interpretation by keeping fire and water separated; *ḳ.n.ī m ḥt* then refers to the entrance of the Sun-god into the Island of Fire, while *pr.n.ī m mw* refers to the rise of the Sun-god from the primeval waters.

⁵⁾ G. Ebers, *Papyros Ebers. Das Hermetische Buch über die Arzneimittel der alten Ägypter in hieratischer Schrift* I (Leipzig 1875), Tf. I; the hieratic text is also accessible in W. Wolf, *Die Welt der Ägypter* (Stuttgart 1954), Tf. 117 (reproduced from Ebers); transcriptions may be found in e.g. K. Sethe, *Ägyptische Lesestücke* (Leipzig 1928²), 47,17 - 48,10 and in H. Grapow, *Die medizinischen Texte in hieroglyphischer Umschreibung autographiert* (Berlin 1958), 532-533 (= *Grundriss der Medizin der alten Ägypter*, Bd. V; this work will hereafter be cited as *Grundriss*).

⁶⁾ K. Sethe, *Erläuterungen zu den ägyptischen Lesestücken* (Leipzig 1927), 70.

⁷⁾ H. von Deines, H. Grapow, W. Westendorf, *Grundriss* IV/2, 232.

⁸⁾ W. Westendorf, 'Beiträge aus und zu den medizinischen Texten, IV. Feuer- und Wasserprobe', *ZÄS* 96 (1970), 149-151.

When the Sun-god comes from the Netherworld he enters the Island of Fire before he is reborn⁹). In many places in the Coffin Texts it is stated that the deceased "has come into the Island of Fire"¹⁰), where he becomes a flame himself¹¹) and where he becomes sexually active again: "I beget and my Ba begets, my Ba begets for me in the People who are in the Island of Fire and I myself beget in the (gods and) goddesses"¹²). In this passage we take the preposition *m* after *sti* "beget" as the *m* of predication or equation¹³), indicating that the sexual activity of the Ba of the deceased manifests itself in the sexual activity of the People in the Island of Fire¹⁴). This is a way of formulating the idea of the deceased as the Sun-god "begetting himself" (*wtt sw ds.f*), or in this case, "having himself begot" in the Island of Fire in order to be re-born in the morning. Of course the flames of the Island of Fire are also described as dangerous and destructive; but this applies in the first place to the enemies of Rē¹⁵), while Rē himself is immune to it, as stated in CT Spell 88: "I will not obey magic, I will not be burnt by the fire, I will not be wetted by the water, I will be like Rē every day who is born every day with¹⁶) the Sun-folk"¹⁷).

The procreation of Rē is one of the major themes of Stricker's "embryological treatise" and it is interesting to find that the seed with which the Sun-god is begotten is called "flame" or "fire" there. An unmistakable illustration of the

⁹) H. Kees, 'Die Feuerinsel in den Sargtexten und im Totenbuch', *ZÄS* 78 (1942), 41-53; cf. H. Altenmüller, *Die Apotropaia und die Götter Mittelägyptens I* (München 1965), 92: "Ausschlaggebend ist (...) überall, wo die Flammeninsel genannt wird, der Gedanke, dass ein uranfängliches Entstehen wiederholt und eine Neugeburt eingeleitet wird".

¹⁰) CT I 117b; III 321d; 327e; IV 110g-h; V 180d [Sq 5 Sq]; VI 382d; VII 51q; 230a; 237k.

¹¹) CT IV 102c-d.

¹²) CT I 364/65b-366/67b [M5C].

¹³) Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts* (= *AECT*) I, 73 translates: "my soul impregnates the people" (etc.), taking *sti m* as a substitute for *sti* + dir. object; according to the *Wörterbuch*, however, this construction is only found from the NK onwards and even then it is "ungewöhnlich" (*Wb.* IV 347, 14).

¹⁴) Cf. CT VII 218g-h: "I have come to yonder Island of Fire and I go to rest in the manifestations (*hw*) of the Begetters"; see for '3'w "Begetters" the places in the Litany of Rē, cf. n. 29 below.

¹⁵) CT VI 270w-x.

¹⁶) Or: "fashioned by the Sun-folk"; cf. for *hr* "with", "in the presence of" Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.*, § 768a and for *hr* "by" (of agent, thus Faulkner, *AECT* I, 91) *ibid.*, § 768f. In any case a comparison with the passage quoted above n. 12 suggests that the Sun-folk, who are sometimes associated with the birth of the Sun-god and of the solar king (cf. Gardiner, *Onomastica* I, 112*), and the People in the Island of Fire are actually identical; cf. CT VII 182c, f: "My seed is that of the Bull of the Sun-folk (...), I have travelled to Osiris (...) and he has given me his house and his seed that I may beget with it" (Faulkner's translation); after a lacuna the text proceeds: "I am the Ram, and I have come that I may be a crocodile-spirit" (182n-o), for which see Stricker, *Horus* II, 41-43 + fig. 8: the birth of the ram-headed Sun-god from the womb depicted as a crocodile (vignette from the *Création du Disque Solaire*).

¹⁷) CT II 54m-r; cf. Westendorf, *ZÄS* 96 (1970), 150; see also Spells 246-247 and 711.

impregnation with fire is found in a vignette in several Ramesside royal tombs¹⁸). Here an ithyphallic god, called "He who hides the hours" in the tomb of Ramesses IX, is standing between two sloping lines forming a funnel¹⁹) containing the hours of the night. Below the phallus of the god and connected with it by a dotted line are two hieroglyphic signs, the first depicting a child (*ḥt*), the second a flame (*ḥt*); one of the accompanying legends (only present in the tomb of Ramesses IX) states: "This god is like this: he procreates the flame (*wtt.f sdt*)"²⁰). This vignette was also studied by Stricker, who concluded that the flame represents the fiery nature of the Ba-soul which is present in the semen²¹). Apart from the many references from classical and Jewish authors quoted by Stricker the following passage from the Coffin Texts is particularly instructive: "I am this Ba of Shu which is in the flame (*nīs*, var. *nbī*) of the blast of fire (*hh*) which Atum kindled (*sti*) with his hand; he created orgasm and a drop fell into²²) his mouth; then he spat me out as Shu, together with Tefnut who came forth after me"²³). Here the production of semen by masturbation is called the kindling of a flame. The Ramesside vignette also recalls a passage from a hymn on an ostrakon found in the Valley of the Kings praising the new-born Horus: "Oh infant who came forth from the phallus, oh child of fire (*p3 hy n sdt*), with gleaming rays"²⁴). One might also refer to a rather obscure passage from the "chapitres supplémentaires" in which the deceased identifies himself with the phallus of Rē (*ink dt n R*²⁵) who is afterwards called "Bull, Lord of the phallus", "Amun, copulating bull" and "Bull, Lord of the flame, strong of fire (*p3 k3 nb nbī nht nsrt*)"²⁶). These quotations lend new

¹⁸) A. Piankoff & N. Rambova, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI* (New York 1954), Pl. 115 and text vol., p. 339, fig. 95; see A. Piankoff, *La Création du Disque Solaire* (Le Caire 1953), 18; 62-66 + Pls. XXXVI-XXXVII (tomb of Ramesses IX; other parallels are mentioned by Piankoff, *op. cit.*, 62 n. 1 and 63 n. 1).

¹⁹) This funnel has convincingly been interpreted as a clepsydra by P. Barguet, 'Remarques sur quelques scènes de la salle du sarcophage de Ramsès VI', *RdEg* 30 (1978), 51-56.

²⁰) Piankoff, *Création*, 64.

²¹) Stricker, *Horus* II, 99-104 + fig. 17.

²²) Zandee, *ZÄS* 100 (1973), 71-72, is certainly right in translating "Same geriet in seinem Mund" and not "from his mouth" (so e.g. De Buck, *Sjoe*, 232; Sauneron/Yoyotte, *La naissance du monde*, 47; Müller, *OrNS* 35 (1967), 263; Faulkner, *AECT* I, 80); Atum is here impregnating himself through his mouth and consequently gives birth to Shu and Tefnut from his mouth; cf. the vignette in a mythological papyrus (BM 7312) where Geb as "father of the gods who creates the earth and the whole circuit of the Sun" is shown impregnating himself through his mouth, see J. A. Omlin, *Der Papyrus 55001 und seine satirisch-erotischen Zeichnungen und Inschriften* (Turin 1971), Pl. XXVIIIb and H. te Velde, art. 'Geb' in *LÄ* II, 429. Cf. perhaps also CT VI 191e.

²³) CT II 18a-e.

²⁴) A. Erman, 'Gebete eines ungerecht Verfolgten und andere Ostraka aus den Königsgräbern', *ZÄS* 38 (1900), 20.

²⁵) W. Pleyte, *Chapitres supplémentaires au Livre des Morts 162 à 174* (Leiden 1881), Ch. 167, 18; see for *dt* with phallus-det., *Wb.* V 506, 13ff.

²⁶) *Ibid.*, Ch. 167, 29.

support to Faulkner's much disputed interpretation of *kī sšd* in CT II 20d as the impregnation of Isis by heavenly fire²⁷); the fact that the same expression *kī sšd* is also used of the Sun-god in the Netherworld where his Ba gives life to those who dwell there²⁸) seems to me only to favour Faulkner's interpretation. In his commentary on the Litany of Rē Hornung agrees with Faulkner's opponents; like them he feels that the CT-text refers to "den Aufrur in der Natur beim Erscheinen oder bei der Geburt eines Gottes"²⁹); but here after *kī sšd* it is stated that Isis "awakes pregnant with the seed of Osiris", in other words, Horus has not yet been born and consequently the "appearance of a god" can only be the manifestation of the dead Osiris in the heavenly fire. Moreover, as Hornung notes himself, in the Litany of Rē *kī sšd* is not followed by expressions of fear but by "etwas Positives, das Dunkel vertreibendes". Another stanza from the Litany of Rē identifies the Sun-god with an ithyphallic god called ʿy, "Begetter", "Samen-ergießer", on which Hornung comments: "Offenbar will der Dichter (...) das Licht des Sonnengottes als überquellenden Samen deuten, mit dem er auch in der Unterwelt fortgesetzt zeugt, so wie Osiris als gemordeter Gott noch den Horus zeugt"³⁰). For the impregnation of the Mother of Apis by heavenly fire or by light from the moon, mentioned by classical authors³¹), one may recall the fact that in Ptolemaic texts the moon is often called ʿy, "fiery bull"³²).

Like the flames of the Island of Fire, the fire in the semen is also a destructive power. In the Ramesside vignette discussed above the fiery seed is received by a small male figure called *snfy*, "Bloody One", who then "places the fire amidst the damned"³³). Stricker has noted that the texts of the embryological treatise frequently stress the destructive effects accompanying the procreation³⁴), a fact which can be explained from the idea that procreation and birth of the Sun-god constitute the defeat of the powers of chaos³⁵).

The rise of the Sun-god from the primaeval waters is too well-known to need further illustration here: only two examples will be quoted in which the same phrase *prī m mw* is used in this sense, one from the Book of the Dead: "Oh divine

²⁷) R. O. Faulkner, 'The Pregnancy of Isis', *JEA* 54 (1968), 40-44.

²⁸) E. Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen (Sonnenlitanei)* I (Basel/Genève 1975), 132; id., II (1976), 78.

²⁹) *op. cit.*, II, 130 n. 310.

³⁰) *op. cit.*, II, 109 n. 96.

³¹) Faulkner, *op. cit.*, 44.

³²) *Wb.* V 95, 15-16. On light and semen, see H. te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion* (Leiden 1967), 51-53.

³³) Piankoff, *Création*, 64.

³⁴) Stricker, *Horus* I, 35.

³⁵) The symbolism of the ritual kindling of a fire at childbirth (H. Brunner, *Die Geburt des Gottkönigs* (Wiesbaden 1964), 104-105; cf. Pap. Ram. IV, C 12-13?) may also contain these two aspects of the fire; usually the apotropaic function of the fire is stressed, but see already E. Naville, *The Temple of Deir el Bahari* II, 16-17, who took it as a symbol of life.

child, hear of eternity, who begot himself and gave birth to himself (...), who came forth from the water (*pr m mw*) and dragged himself from Nun"³⁶), and one from a magical text: "You Great One in heaven, Great One in the Netherworld (...), I have come with you from the water (*pr.n.ī r ʿh n. k m mw*)"³⁷). The ambiguity of the Egyptian word *mw* "water" makes it rather haphazard to discuss the embryological connotations of this word in our text. Naturally one thinks of the "water" (= seed) in the womb, for which the Great Hymn to the Aten provides the *locus classicus*; here it is said that this god "brings into being the seed (*mʿy*) in the women, makes water into men (*ir mw m rmt*) and feeds the son in his mother's womb"³⁸).

§4. *nn h3.ī r ʿbtt nt hrw pn*. The main problem in this line is the word *ʿbtt*, written with the determinative ʿ. There seems to have grown a certain *communis opinio* on this point, since all translators so far have rendered the word with "bird-trap", "snare", "Falle"³⁹), though most of them add a question-mark. The reasons for this translation are obvious: first the determinative points to an object of wood, secondly the word *ʿbtt* resembles *ibt(t)* which means "bird-trap", "Bügel-falle"⁴⁰). Both arguments however are questionable; the writing of the word for "bird-trap" shows a limited amount of variation⁴¹), but all examples known to me agree in writing the first consonants as *ib-*, not as *ʿb-*; in fact when one looks through the relevant pages of the *Wörterbuch* and of Faulkner's *Concise Dictionary* only one example of the variant *ʿb-* for *ib-* is found: of two stelae of Amenhotep II from Giza one gives the name of a certain royal headdress as *ibs* ʿbtt, while the parallel-text has *ibbs* ʿbtt⁴²). In addition, the determinative ʿ is not used in any of the writings of the word *ibt(t)* known to me, though this is of course in itself no serious objection. Nevertheless it is in my opinion very unlikely

³⁶) BD 15, quoted from the papyrus of Ani, see E. A. W. Budge, *The Book of the Dead. The Papyrus of Ani in the British Museum* (London 1895), 6.

³⁷) *Mag. Pap. Harris* VI, 11-12.

³⁸) M. Sandman, *Texts from the time of Akhenaten* (Bruxelles 1938), 94:10; cf. for the terms *mw* and *mwn* in the "Embryological Treatise" Stricker, *Horus* II, 139 ff.

³⁹) E.g. H. Joachim, *Papyrus Ebers. Das älteste Buch über Heilkunde* (Berlin 1890), 2; Sethe, *Erläuterungen*, 70; *Wb.* I 31, 12; Faulkner, *Conc. Dict.*, 8; *Grundriss* IV/1, 309; J. F. Borghouts, *Ancient Egyptian Magical Texts* (Leiden 1978), 49.

⁴⁰) *Wb.* I 64-65; see B. Grdseloff, 'Zum Vogelfang', *ZÄS* 74 (1938), 52-55; 136-139.

⁴¹) Apart from abbreviated writings employing only the ʿb-sign, we find in the OK *ibt*, *ibt*; in the MK it is also written *ibt* (the forms *iby* and *ibt-ʿ* quoted by Zandee, *Death as an Enemy* (Leiden 1960), 230 n. 5, refer to different words); in the NK the usual writings are *ibt* and *ibty* (in one case *ib* is found: *Stela Leiden* V 1,13).

⁴²) *Urk.* IV 1277, 20; 1286, 16, see Faulkner, *Conc. Dict.*, 16; in *Beni Hassan* II, 13 the word *ib* "dance" is written *ib* (ʿbtt), but this is certainly a case of metathesis, whether real or graphical is hard to say, though the Late-Egyptian form ʿbtt might suggest the latter possibility (cf. *imʿy* ʿbtt).

that *ibbt* is to be identified with *ibl(t)* and that it means "bird-trap". As an alternative I would suggest that 𓂏 is a scribal error⁴³⁾ and that we should simply read $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$, "East".

The East is, of course, the place where the sun rises from the Netherworld; going down to the eastern horizon is therefore identical with "dying again". In Spell 93 of the Book of the Dead, a "spell for not letting the deceased be ferried to the East in the Netherworld", the deceased threatens the Sun-god with destruction should he be taken to the East against his will; in the MK-version (CT Spell 548) one ms. (T2L) replaces this title by "Spell for not dying again in the Netherworld"⁴⁴⁾. Similarly, in BD 176 ("Spell for not dying again in the Netherworld") the deceased states: "The Land of the East is my abomination". In a fragmentary magical papyrus from the MK we find in an enumeration of terms for killing also the expression $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ *ibbt* "ferry to the East"⁴⁵⁾; in a NK-ostrakon someone who apparently has cursed (?) the temple of Amun is summoned: "Hurry on, go to the East, you hot-mouthed one!" in which "Go to the East" means nothing less than "Go to hell"⁴⁶⁾! The reason for this unfavorable position of the East in Egyptian mythology is clear: when the Sun-god (and with him the deceased) goes down below the western horizon he "dies" only to be reborn in the morning; but when he goes down again to the eastern horizon the "cosmic cycle of death and resurrection"⁴⁷⁾ is broken; then he dies again and this time he dies a final death. This mythology of annihilation caused by cosmic disturbance⁴⁸⁾ may also lie behind the well-known theme of the East as the place of execution of the enemies of Rē⁴⁹⁾, though one can also see this as an

⁴³⁾ W. Westendorf, *Grammatik der medizinischen Texte (Grundriss VIII)* (Berlin 1962), § 18 ("falsche Determinierungen").

⁴⁴⁾ Cf. E. Hornung, *Altägyptische Höllenvorstellungen* (Berlin 1968), 33 n. 9: "Die unterschiedlichen Titel des Spruches 548 (...) deuten vielleicht darauf hin, dass man sich den 'Zweiten Tod' der Sargtexte im gefährlichen 'Osten' des Jenseits vorstellt, wo auch die 'Schlachtbank' häufig lokalisiert wird".

⁴⁵⁾ *Pap-Ram. IX*, 3, 3; cfr. Sir Alan Gardiner, *The Ramesseum Papyri* (Oxford 1955), Pl. XLII.

⁴⁶⁾ *Ostr. Leipzig 8*, see J. Černý & A. H. Gardiner, *Hieratic Ostraca I* (Oxford 1957), Pl. VII, 5. That it is not simply "an abusive order to disappear" (Černý/Gardiner, *op. cit.*, 3) is clear from the following sentences, in which it is said that the person cursed will be delivered to "cold shadow in winter and burning heat in summer", which is exactly the opposite of what any Egyptian would have wished for himself!

⁴⁷⁾ Hornung, *Höllenvorstellungen*, 33.

⁴⁸⁾ See in general S. Schott, 'Altägyptische Vorstellungen vom Weltende', *Analecta Biblica* 12 (Roma 1959), 319-330.

⁴⁹⁾ Ph. Derchain, *Le Papyrus Salt 825*, I (Bruxelles 1965), 157-158; see for a comparison of this idea in Egyptian, classical and early-Christian sources S. Morenz, 'Rechts und links im Totengericht', *ZÄS* 82 (1957), 62-71. The theme is mainly known from Late Period sources (cf. Derchain, *op. cit.*, 157 and Morenz, *op. cit.*, 64); in addition to the earlier references quoted by these authors one may mention CT VII 250j-k; *Book of the Celestial Cow*, S. I, 41 (ed. Maystre, *BIFAO* 40, 106); Bakir, *The Cairo Calendar No. 86637*, rt. 23, 7-8 and vs. 8, 3-4; see also J. Cl. Goyon, *Textes mythologiques II*, [199] n. 10 (= *BIFAO* 75, 364).

aetiological myth originating from the red colour of the morning-sky, just like the Island of Fire which is also mentioned as the place of execution, e.g. in BD 71: "Oh you seven knots (...) who cause a slaughter (*š't*) in the Island of Fire"⁵⁰⁾.

For the idiom of our phrase one may compare a similar line from the Berlin Rituals of Amun and Mut: *nn hr.n.ī n š't nt hrw pn* "I will not fall in the slaughter of today!"⁵¹⁾, said by the priest when he prostrates himself after having opened the shrine and awakened the god.

§5. *qd.n.ī hy.kwī h̄.kwī*. With this sentence the reciter of our spell introduces the reason why he will be saved from annihilation in the East: he has spoken to Rē and Osiris being *hy* and *h̄*. The first element does not constitute any great difficulty, since the word *hy* is well-known with the meaning "child", "infant", "baby"⁵²⁾. Whatever its exact relation may be with 𓂏 *h̄*, which allegedly means "placenta"⁵³⁾ or perhaps rather "amnion (with its contents)"⁵⁴⁾, it should be noted that *hy* usually refers to a child after its birth, as is clear from the fact that the Sun-god is called *hy* in the morning and *nh̄h* "old man" in the evening⁵⁵⁾ and that the term is applied to a little girl (*hyt*) who died in infancy, "while the breast was still in her mouth"⁵⁶⁾. The translation "Embryo (Fruchtsackkind)" proposed for *hy* in our text by H. von Deines is therefore only acceptable as a possible etymology and does not mean that the term indicates exclusively the child in the womb. In our text a denominal verb *hy* "be a child" is used, for which only one other example is known to me: in the great representation of Nut in the Cenotaph of Seti I we find at the place where the Sun-god is born from the vulva of the goddess (marked *h̄t ibbt*) the legend *[s]w hy m dī sw hrw pr.f* "He is a child"⁵⁷⁾ when he shows himself on the day of his going forth"⁵⁸⁾; in the demotic paraphrase of this line⁵⁹⁾ *hy* is twice rendered by forms of the verb *h̄m* "be small". The word *hy* as a designation of the young Sun-god fits neatly within the solar context already established in our preceding paragraphs.

The second verb, *h̄*, is a *hapax* and gave rise to many different translations

⁵⁰⁾ BD Nav. 71, 16-18 = CT VI 323q-u.

⁵¹⁾ *Pap. Berl.* 3055, 5, 2 = 3014, 4, 6-7; also in 3055, 11, 9-10.

⁵²⁾ *Wb.* III 217, 3-9.

⁵³⁾ A. M. Blackman, 'The Pharaoh's Placenta and the Moon-God Khons', *JEA* 3 (1916), 235-249.

⁵⁴⁾ H. von Deines, 'Mwt-rmj "Mutter der Menschen"', *MIO* 4 (1956), 39 n. 30.

⁵⁵⁾ *Wb.* III 217, 5.

⁵⁶⁾ *Stela Leiden V* 55, 3.6; cf. E. Otto, *Die biographischen Inschriften der Ägyptischen Spätzeit* (Leiden 1954), 187; E. Feucht, art. 'Kind', *LÄ* III, 430.

⁵⁷⁾ H. Frankfort a.o., *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos II* (London 1933), Pl. LXXXI; the reading *hy* is confirmed by the late parallel-text in *Pap. Carlsberg I* (see n. 59 below).

⁵⁸⁾ Cf. for the construction *sw* + participle H. Brunner, *Die Geburt des Gottkönigs*, 173-175.

⁵⁹⁾ *Pap. Carlsberg I*, 2, 18-19; H. O. Lange & O. Neugebauer, *Papyrus Carlsberg No. I* (København 1940), 23.

varying from mere guesses⁶⁰) to attempts at emendation. Von Deines suggested "in gebeugter Stellung?"⁶¹), apparently thinking of *h3* "sich beugen vor jem." (Wb. III 223,1), which only occurs in *Urk. VIII* 44 [55k, 10] and, as the *Wörterbuch* notes, should probably be emended to *h3b* or *h3m*; recently Borghouts proposed "be innocent (<w>*h3*?)"⁶²). I am fully aware that my own suggestion is hardly any better than these and I give it for what it is worth. From the parallelism between *hy.kwî* and *h3.kwî* one might deduce that the latter word is also a denominative verb, which would leave us with a word **h3* meaning something like "child". This word one could connect with a god *H3* mentioned in the temple of Denderah⁶³); here we find a scene showing the king offering herbs to Harsomtut who is shown wearing the sun-disk on his head and is therefore characterized as a form of *Rē*; this is confirmed by the epithet given to the king here: "Image of *Rē*-who-is-on-the-Lotus-bud"; the offering is described as "pacifying (the god) *H3*". From this evidence we may safely conclude that *H3* is a form of the young Sun-god in Denderah. Most probably this god should be connected with the *s h3 tpy* "Man of the First Lotus-Leaf" occurring in a number of Edfu-texts as an epithet of Horus and the Pharaoh; these texts have been studied by Blackman and Fairman⁶⁴), who concluded that *s h3 tpy* probably denotes "the first created being of the primordial age, the expression containing a reference to the lotus out of which the sun-god emerged in the beginning of time", a conclusion which is corroborated by the equation of the Man of the Lotus-Leaf (*s h3*) and the First Man (*s tpy*) with Shu, "the first being to be created by the sun-god"⁶⁵). I therefore would suggest that *h3*, which like *hy* must be a designation of the new-born Sun-god, be translated as "be a Lotus-child", or, to use the term coined by Fairman, "be a prototype-child"⁶⁶).

⁶⁰) E.g. Joachim, *Papyrus Ebers*, 2: "bejammernswert"; Sethe, *Erläuterungen*, 70: "frisch"; Lefébvre, *Grammaire*, § 350: "frais"; *Grundriss* IV/1, 309: "klein"; Faulkner, *Conc. Dict.*, 183: "be young, little"; Westendorf, *ZAS* 96 (1970), 150: "verjüngt".

⁶¹) *MIO* 4 (1956), 39 n. 30.

⁶²) *Ancient Egyptian Magical Texts*, 49.

⁶³) Mariette, *Dendérah* II, Pl. 47a = Chassinat, *Le temple de Denderah* II, 188. A god *H3* is also mentioned on the Turin altar of Nectanebo (cat. 1751 = CGT 22055): *H3 m Hwt-H3*, see L. Habachi, *Tavole d'offerta, are e bacili da libagione* (Torino 1977), 98 (l. 15).

⁶⁴) A. M. Blackman & H. W. Fairman, "The Myth of Horus at Edfu - II", *JEA* 29 (1943), 20-21. See now also Fairman's remarks in *The Triumph of Horus* (London 1974), 130 (Glossary s.v. Prototype Man).

⁶⁵) Blackman/Fairman, *op. cit.*, 21. See for a possible occurrence of the *s h3* in *CT* VI 173b R. el Sayed, *OrNS* 43 (1974), 286 with n. 114. It is tempting to see a connection with the MK title *nh n h3 tpy* "Person of the First Lotus-Leaf (?)", cf. *Wb.* III 220, 7 and S. Bosticco, *Museo Archeologico di Firenze. Le stele egiziane dall'Antico al Nuovo Regno* (Roma 1959), 49 n. a1.

⁶⁶) Note that the birth from the Lotus is sometimes located in the Island of Fire, e.g. *BD* 15B1 [Ba], 13-14; *Urk.* VIII 75 [90c].

§ 6. *i R' mdw hr dt.k, Wsir sbh hr prt-im.k*. To understand this line is much more difficult than to translate its individual words. Sethe⁶⁷) surmised that the spell ends after *h3.kwî* and that a new spell begins here; this view was rejected by later translators and is indeed very unlikely, since the enumeration of evil forces in 1,14-15 is repeated in 1,19-2,1 and the rubrics in 1,12 and 2,1 make it clear that we are dealing with one spell here. Consequently, the meaning of this line must be judged in the light of the foregoing phrases, which, as we have seen, allude to the Sun-god begetting himself in the Island of Fire and giving birth to himself from the primeval waters. For *prt-im.f* "what has come forth from him", "his offspring" one may compare *pr-im.f* "who has come forth from him", a common phrase for "his son"⁶⁸).

The usual translation of *dt* is "body", but this translation needs a good deal of specification. After all that has been written about the Egyptian concepts of what we call "soul" a thorough investigation of the different Egyptian terms for "body" is certainly one of the desiderata of Egyptology; no attempt at such an investigation can be made here, however, and we have to confine ourselves to a few remarks. It is noteworthy that *dt* is only used of the living body; even when it is applied to the body resting in its tomb⁶⁹), it is not the corpse (dead body) that is meant, but the spiritualized body (*3h*) of the deceased who has become an Osiris. When the corpse (*h3t*) has been embalmed by Anubis the Ba and the Shadow of a person join his *dt*⁷⁰); thus the mummification accomplishes the reintegration of the personality of the deceased. Illness may be ascribed to the intrusion of a disease-demon's *dt* in someone's flesh (*iwf*)⁷¹); an expression like *k3.i n dt.i* "my Ka of my *dt*" is therefore not simply a synonym of *k3.i ds.i* "my own Ka", but stresses the fact that the Ka of a person is a part of his own personality and confirms the bodily integrity of a person. Perhaps the best translation of *dt* would be "bodily manifestation of someone's personality", uniting the concepts of "body" and "personality".

Returning to our text I propose the following interpretation: by *dt.k* is meant the body of Osiris reintegrated by *Rē*, who becomes one with Osiris during his nightly sojourn in the Netherworld, while *prt-im.k* is the result of this unification, the young Sun-god begot by the "dead" Osiris; in other words: *Rē* should speak on behalf of Osiris, his nightly body, and Osiris should cry out on behalf of *Rē*, his offspring. With this line our text refers to one of the main themes of the "Unterweltbücher", as e.g. in the sixth hour of the Amduat: "Das grosse Thema

⁶⁷) *Erl.*, 70.

⁶⁸) *Wb.* I 522, 4-5.

⁶⁹) *Wb.* I 522, 14.

⁷⁰) *CT* VI 74g-i; cf. B. George, *Zu den altägyptischen Vorstellungen vom Schatten als Seele* (Bonn 1970), 94.

⁷¹) Unpublished magical papyrus in Turin, quoted in the *Belegstellen* to *Wb.* V 503, 15.

dieser Stunde ist die Vereinigung des Sonnengottes mit seinem Leichnam (...). Die ihm innewohnende Lebenskraft vereinigt sich mit dem Leichnam, der sonst getrennt von ihm starr und unbeweglich in den Tiefen der Dat ruht, und erfüllt ihn mit neuem Leben"⁷²). The Litany of Rē is also largely concerned with the unification of Rē with his nightly manifestation, Osiris; this whole book may even be summarized in one vignette showing a ram-headed mummified figure with the legends "This is Rē who has gone to rest in Osiris" and "Osiris who has gone to rest in Rē"⁷³). In the texts accompanying the unification of Rē and Osiris in the "Embryological Treatise" in the tomb of Ramesses VI these gods are indeed speaking to one another: "Passing through the body of Him-who-is-Mysterious-of-Forms by this Great God (sc. Rē). He passes through the body of Osiris and he speaks (*mdw*) to those who are in his following. What Rē says to Osiris, the body of the god who is in the Netherworld: Oh Osiris, Mysterious One, Exalted of Forms, speak, you body of mine! Oh, behold, I pass through your cavern, you who are alone, who guard the West, for whom those who are in the Netherworld lament, you whose heart breathes at my voice!"⁷⁴). The vignette showing the result of this unification, the "body of Horus" which literally comes forth from the "body of Osiris" guarded by Isis and Nephthys, is introduced by the following text: "What Rē says to the two goddesses who guard the body of this god:

Oh, lift yourself up, you Dweller in the Dat,
for the darkness which is in you has been dispelled!
Oh, lift yourself up, you Dweller in the Dat,
for your Ba has gone to rest in your body!
Oh, lift yourself up, you Dweller in the Dat,
for I have made that your followers join you!
Oh, lift yourself up, you Dweller in the Dat,
for you will be content with (your) diadems!
Oh, lift yourself up, you dweller in the Dat,
for Rē ..."⁷⁵).

It is remarkable that this impressive divine Creative Word⁷⁶) is not addressed to the body of Osiris, but to Isis and Nephthys; like in the Ebers-text, Rē does not

⁷²) E. Hornung, *Das Amduat II* (Wiesbaden 1963), 123.

⁷³) In the tomb of Nefertari and in some non-royal Ramesside tombs, see E. Hornung, *Der Eine und die Vielen* (Darmstadt 1971), 85-87 and id., *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen II*, 53-54; see also J. Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder an den Sonnengott* (Berlin 1969), 101-105.

⁷⁴) Piankoff/Rambova, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*, Pl. 133 and text-vol., p. 362; Piankoff, *Création*, Pl. XXV, vii; Stricker, *Horus I*, 61.

⁷⁵) Piankoff/Rambova, *op. cit.*, Pl. 131; Piankoff, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXV/XXVI, viii; Stricker, *op. cit.*, 62. Cf. also *Litany of Rē* (ed. Hornung I, 163-164): "Oh Rē, come to me, Leading One, my body speaks as Osiris (*mdw dt.i Wsir*)".

⁷⁶) Cf. Stricker, *op. cit.*, 61-73.

speak *to*, but *on behalf of* Osiris. The vignette makes it clear that the resurrection of Osiris manifests itself in the birth of Horus; thus the result of the unification of Rē and Osiris (*pri-im.k*), with which the receiver of our spell identifies himself, may not only be called Rē as the re-born Sun-god, but also Horus, son and re-incarnation of Osiris. Hornung writes: "Wenn der Sonnengott am Morgen wieder im Horizont erscheint, ist er schon nicht mehr Osiris, ist er aller Fesseln des Todes ledig"⁷⁷), and one may add: then he has become Horus⁷⁸) or, to use the Egyptian formula, *R'-Hr-ḥty*, "Rē-Horus-of-the-Horizon".

Both in mythological background and in the theme of releasing and delivering our spell closely resembles a spell from Egyptian funerary literature (CT Sp. 691 = BD 71). Here the deceased calls upon the gods seven times with the words: "Make me hale as you make yourself hale, release me, deliver me (*wh.k wi, sft.k wi*)!" and seven times the deity addressed answers: "Release him, deliver him, place him on the earth, grant his desire!". Among the gods invoked are the "Falcon rising from the Deep", "Horus, son of Isis" and "the One-faced Lord"; by this last epithet is meant Osiris, who is also called "Possessor of his Two Ba's", an unmistakable reference to the unified Rē and Osiris⁷⁹). In the second half of the spell the deceased passes the slaughter in the Island of Fire and he ends the spell with: "May I arise to be my (own) likeness, breath being in my nose and my eyes seeing in the midst of those who are in the Horizon on that day of reckoning with the Robber"⁸⁰).

§7. To explain the connection between the different mythological subjects touched upon in our spell we will first divide the text into a number of sections (cf. § 2). The first section contains the "mythical precedent" of the spell (*a-b*); in a second part the reciter claims a treatment analogous to the mythical precedent (*c*) and states the reason why he—or the patient—is entitled to such a treatment (*d*); in the final line (*e*) he confirms the effect of the spell. Summarizing these sections in a few catch-words:

<i>mythical precedent</i>	<i>spell proper</i>
(a) Be released!, said Isis	(c-d) Oh Isis, release me!
(b) Horus was released by Isis	(e) You ⁸¹) have rescued me

⁷⁷) Hornung, *Der Eine und die Vielen*, 87.

⁷⁸) Cf. e.g. the hymn quoted above n. 24 and the variants of BD 175 cited by Assmann, *op. cit.*, 110 n. 93.

⁷⁹) Cf. CT IV 276a-281a and M. Heerma van Voss, *De oudste versie van Dodenboek 17a* (Leiden 1963), 78-80.

⁸⁰) CT VI 324e-g; with the Robber Seth as god of death is meant, see H. te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion* (Leiden 1967), 25; for "robbing" as a metaphor of (untimely) death see Hornung, *Der Eine und die Vielen*, 72 with n. 54.

⁸¹) *nhm.n.k wi*; it is not clear who is addressed here; the text as it stands can only refer to Rē (and Osiris), but this is somewhat unlikely since the address of Rē has already been closed (cf.

Section *d* has been analysed in the preceding paragraphs; since the reciter identifies himself with the young Sun-god and with Horus the relation with section *c*, which refers to the delivery of Isis from her son Horus, is clear. Somewhat less obvious is the connection of the spell proper with the allusion to the myth of Osiris killed by Seth, which serves as the mythical precedent (*b*). In this section it is stated that the evil done to Horus consists in the murdering of his father Osiris. Seth, the god of chaos and disorder, by murdering Osiris before he has begotten Horus and by trying to prevent the future birth and succession of Horus by cutting Osiris' body in pieces or throwing it in the river, not only harms Osiris himself but also Horus, the reincarnation of Osiris upon earth. In an interesting article Sir Edmund Leach⁸²) has shown that the "multiplicity of approach" by which Seth may be called both brother of Osiris (and therefore uncle of Horus) and brother of Horus may be explained in sociological terms by saying that Osiris and Horus are actually "two persons but one god", as exemplified in the institution of Divine Kingship: "The legitimacy of the reigning king depended upon the principle that he was both the living 'son' of his dead predecessor and also the immediate divine reincarnation of his dead predecessor"⁸³;) by having herself impregnated by the "dead" Osiris and giving birth to him in the person of Horus Isis "releases the evil done to Horus by his brother Seth" and thus reassures the cosmic cycle of death and resurrection and the social cycle of "positional succession"⁸⁴) which Seth tried to disturb by murdering Osiris. As Jan Assmann has shown, Egyptian solar hymns often use themes from the myth of the triumph of Horus over Seth when they deal with the nightly unification of Rē and Osiris and the birth of the Sun-god in the morning⁸⁵) and we close this paragraph with a quotation of Assmann's conclusion: "So wie mit dem mythischen Tod des Osiris und dem geschichtlichen Tod eines Pharao eine Krise ausbricht und der Triumph des Horus und seine Vereinigung mit dem Vater bzw. Krönung und Thronbesteigung des neuen Königs die Katastrophe abwenden und den Fortbestand der Weltordnung sichern, so erscheint hier den Sonnenuntergang als Tod und die Nacht als eine damit ausgebrochene Krise, deren Katastrophe, das Abreißen der Kontinuität periodischer Erneuerung, das Nicht-wieder-Aufgehen der Sonne, abgewendet wird durch die Vereinigung von Re und Osiris, von Gestern und Morgen,

3rd person in the preceding line); perhaps we should emend *nḥm.n.t wi* (referring to Isis) or *nḥm(n).kwi* ("I am rescued", thus Sethe, *Erläuterungen*, 71).

⁸²) E. Leach, 'The Mother's Brother in Ancient Egypt', *Royal Anthropological Institute News* No. 15 (August 1976), 19-21.

⁸³) *op. cit.*, 20; cf. Stricker's remarks on the vignettes in the tomb of Ramesses VI: "Ramesses VI is begetting himself here and the scene can be connected both with his own birth and with the birth of his son" (*Horus I*, 62).

⁸⁴) See for this term Leach, *op. cit.*, 21 n. 1.

⁸⁵) Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, 110-112.

von den beiden komplementären Aspekten der 'Ewigkeit' über den 'zeitlosen' Abgrund der Nacht hinweg".

§8. Finally, we must try to answer the question as to what the mythology outlined in the preceding pages has to do with the removal of a bandage. And why was a spell recited anyway when a bandage was removed? An answer to this question is implied in the "explanation" of the mechanism of this action given by the editors of the *Grundriss*: "Anscheinend nimmt der Ägypter an, dass die Krankheiten in die Verbände übergehen und bei deren Abnehmen zugleich mit entfernt werden"⁸⁶). Obviously they supposed that this miraculous event, "magical" in the true sense of the word, is brought about by the recitation of the spell. It is not difficult to trace the background of such an explanation: it is part of the heritage of early anthropologists like Tylor and Frazer, whose theories of magic as a primitive pseudo-science practised by superstitious "Ali Babas and Aladdins, uttering their magic words and rubbing their magic lamps"⁸⁷), though long since rejected in modern anthropology, die hard in many Egyptological publications, impeding any serious attempt to understand the function of "magic" in Egyptian society.

Since A. van Gennep wrote his *Rites de passage* (1908), anthropologists have been increasingly aware of the fact that rituals, and especially non-periodic rituals, are often performed in situations of transition from one status to another; in such marginal situations lies danger, "simply because transition is neither one state nor the next, it is undefinable"⁸⁸). I think the essence of untying a bandage is that it marks the transition between being ill and having recovered. To appreciate this one should bear in mind that in Egyptian medicine bandaging was applied in many more cases than in modern medicine; it was not only used to cover wounds or fractures, but also to keep in place medicaments prescribed for many diseases and ailments not always externally visible⁸⁹). This is also the reason why our spell occurs right at the beginning of the Ebers Papyrus, between two other "allgemeine Begleitsprüche", following a spell "for applying a medicine to any limb" and preceding one "for drinking a medicine". Egyptian texts may call a sick person "someone who is in the Netherworld", from which he may be rescued when God cures him⁹⁰). In the process of curing the final removal of the bandage

⁸⁶) *Grundriss* IV/2, 232.

⁸⁷) M. Douglas, *Purity and Danger* (London 1966), 58.

⁸⁸) Douglas, *op. cit.*, 96.

⁸⁹) Cf. J. H. Breasted, *The Edwin Smith Surgical Papyrus I* (Chicago 1930), 96-97 and *Grundriss* VII/1, 226-232. In one of the glosses in the Edwin Smith Papyrus a "Treatise of What Pertains to the Embalmer" is cited concerning a case of "blood-shot eyes" (Breasted, *op. cit.*, 281), suggesting that *wt* "bandager", "embalmer" hardly means more than "doctor" or "surgeon".

⁹⁰) E.g. *Stela Berlin 20377*, see J. Assmann, *Ägyptische Hymnen und Gebete* (Zürich/München 1975), 352 (no. 148, 1.22) and the parallels quoted there, p. 597.

with which the medicine was applied to that part of the body where the symptoms of the disease manifested themselves, constitutes an important moment and a moment of great psychological tension for the patient: will he be cured and rescued from the Netherworld or will he still be ill and finally succumb to his illness? Similarly, it is also a moment of tension for his relatives: will the patient be able to reoccupy his place in society or will he remain separated from them and eventually be separated for ever from society by death⁹¹)? Thus the physical disturbance of the patient is matched by psychological and social insecurity and it is in this transitional situation of suspense and insecurity that the myth related in the spell exercises its function, by bringing to the patient's mind that the crisis of the "death" of the Sun-god and the possibility that he will not arise again has been defeated, that the crisis of the death of Osiris and the possibility that order may be replaced by chaos has been averted by the triumph of Horus over Seth, thus reassuring the patient of his own secure place in cosmic and social order.

It is clear that in such an explanation of the connection between the spell and the effect produced by it the working of the ritual is primarily viewed as psychological, a notion long recognized by psychologists and anthropologists. Ritual and recitation may indeed be able to produce some effect in the outer world, but they do this by bringing about a change in the "inner world", the psychic attitude of the patient. In the words of the psychologist Erich Neumann, writing about a hunting ritual: "Denn die magische Wirkung des Ritus ist eine faktische, keine illusionistische. Sie wirkt sich auch, ganz wie der Frühmensch annimmt, in seinem Jagderfolg aus, nur dass der Weg dieser Wirkung über das Subjekt geht, nicht aber über das Objekt"⁹²). In his famous analysis of an Indian shamanistic song to facilitate difficult childbirth Lévi-Strauss has elucidated the method by which this psychological effect is produced⁹³): it consists in "making explicit a situation originally existing on the emotional level" and the relationship between the myth depicted for the patient in the recitation of the spell and his actual situation is "a relationship between symbol and thing symbolized, or, to use the terminology of linguists, between sign and meaning. The shaman provides the sick woman with a *language*, by means of which unexpressed, and otherwise inexpressible, psychic states can be immediately expressed. And it is the transition to this verbal expression (...) which induces the release of the psychological process, that is, the

⁹¹) See for the sociological implications of the topos "be dead" in Egyptian texts P. Seibert, *Die Charakteristik I* (Wiesbaden 1967), 42-43.

⁹²) E. Neumann, *Ursprungsgeschichte des Bewusstseins* (Zürich 1950), 229, quoted by Th. P. van Baaren, *Geruststellingsriten. Een bijdrage tot de critiek op de gangbare opvattingen over magie* (Groningen/Djakarta 1952), 11.

⁹³) C. Lévi-Strauss, 'L'efficacité symbolique', *RHR* 135 (1949), 5-27, reprinted in *Anthropologie structurale* (Paris 1958), 205-226; I quote from the English translation *The Effectiveness of Symbols*, in: *Structural Anthropology* (New York 1963), 186-205.

reorganization, in a favourable direction, of the process to which the sick woman is subjected"⁹⁴). This method is almost literally illustrated in our spell, for it is precisely the release of the psychological process accompanying the removal of the bandage which is symbolized in the releasing of Horus from the evil done to him, in the deliverance of Isis from her son Horus and in the unharmed re-birth of the Sun-god at dawn⁹⁵). Thus myth, "a symbolic statement about social reality and human existence"⁹⁶), does not "decline in the service of magic", as Morenz once put it⁹⁷), but on the contrary reveals one of its major *raison d'être* in its use in ritual or magical contexts.

January 1980

⁹⁴) *op. cit.*, 198.

⁹⁵) On the level of language this association is made possible by the semantic ambivalence of the terms *wh* and *sfl* (the same applies to the use of these words in CT Spell 691).

⁹⁶) A. M. de Waal Malefijt, *Religion and Culture. An Introduction to Anthropology of Religion* (New York 1968), 195.

⁹⁷) S. Morenz, *Ägyptische Religion* (Stuttgart 1960), 229.

DIE ÄGYPTISCHEN SOTHISDATEN UND IHRE BEZUGSORTE

WINFRIED BARTA — MÜNCHEN

Nach den inzwischen verbesserten Monddaten Tuthmosis' III¹⁾ kommen als Thronbesteigungsjahre des Königs nur mehr die Jahre 1504 oder 1479 v.Chr. in Betracht, während das vordem²⁾ favorisierte Jahr 1490 v.Chr. ausscheiden muß. Aber auch das Jahr 1504 darf in hohem Maße als unwahrscheinlich gelten. Denn nach der relativen Chronologie liegt zwischen der Thronbesteigung Tuthmosis' III. und der Ramses' II. ein Abstand von etwa 200 Jahren³⁾; da jedoch nach genealogischen Untersuchungen⁴⁾ unter den astronomisch errechneten Thronbesteigungsjahren Ramses' II. das Jahr 1304 v.Chr. mit Sicherheit ausgeschlossen werden kann, während das Jahr 1279 mit größerer Wahrscheinlichkeit als das Jahr 1290 grundeulegen ist⁵⁾, geht man zu Recht immer mehr dazu über, auch die Thronbesteigung Tuthmosis' III. ins Jahr 1479 zu verlegen⁶⁾.

Die Herabsetzung des Thronbesteigungsjahres Tuthmosis' III. hat freilich zur Folge, daß die Regierungszeiten seiner beiden Vorgänger, der Könige Tuthmosis I. und Tuthmosis II., zusammen auf etwa 25 Jahre verlängert werden müssen, da bisher nach dem Sothisdatum des Papyrus Ebers als Thronbesteigungsjahr Tuthmosis' I. bei Theben als Bezugsort spätestens das Jahr 1504 angenommen worden ist⁷⁾. Um jedoch einen späteren Ansatz für das 1. Jahr Tuthmosis' I. zu ermöglichen, hat man vorgeschlagen, von dem südlicher gelegenen Beobachtungsort Elephantine auszugehen⁸⁾. In Elephantine sollten dabei nicht nur die Sothisfrühaufgänge des Neuen Reiches, sondern möglicherweise auch die des Mittleren Reiches beobachtet worden sein. Neben Heliopolis/Memphis oder Theben würde damit auch Elephantine als weiterer, durchaus ernst zu nehmender Bezugsort von Sothisdaten zu betrachten sein.

¹⁾ Vgl. R. O. Faulkner, in: *JEA* 28 (1942), 11; R. A. Parker, in: *JNES* 16 (1957), 40ff.; W. Murnane, in: *JANES* 3 (1970-1971), 1ff.; W. Helck, in: *MDAIK* 28 (1972), 101f.; A. Spalinger, in: *MDAIK* 30 (1974), 221ff.; E. F. Wente, in: *JNES* 34 (1975), 265ff.; G. Lello, in: *JNES* 37 (1978), 327ff.; W. Barta, in: *ZÄS* 106 (1979), 3.

²⁾ Vgl. E. Hornung, *Untersuchungen zur Chronologie und Geschichte des Neuen Reiches* (ÄgAb 11, Wiesbaden 1964), 108; J. v. Beckerath, in: *LÄ I*, 1975, Sp. 969.

³⁾ Vgl. R. Krauss, *Das Ende der Amarnazeit* (HÄB 7, Hildesheim 1978), 173ff.

⁴⁾ M. L. Bierbrier, *The Late New Kingdom in Egypt* (Warminster 1975), 109ff.

⁵⁾ Vgl. auch J. v. Beckerath, in: *BiOr* 33 (1976), 177f.

⁶⁾ Vgl. z.B. W. Barta, in: *SAK* 8, 1980 [im Druck].

⁷⁾ E. Hornung, *op. cit.*, 32.

⁸⁾ R. Krauss, *op. cit.*, 190ff.; E. Hornung, in: *Fs Elmar Edel* (Bamberg 1979), 251.

Im folgenden sollen daher zunächst die uns aus dem Mittleren Reich und dem Neuen Reich überlieferten Sothisdaten alternativ nach ihren möglichen Bezugsorten berechnet werden. Von Norden nach Süden handelt es sich dabei um die geographischen Breiten 30°.1 (Heliopolis), 29°.9 (Memphis), 29°.8 (Dahschur), 29°.6 (el-Lischt), 29°.2 (el-Lahun), 25°.7 (Theben) und 24°.1 (Elephantine). Als Schwankungsbreite des Sehungsbogens soll jeweils 0°.8 angenommen werden. Nach in Ägypten angestellten Beobachtungen liegen die Grenzwerte dabei für Unterägypten zwischen 9°.4 und 8°.6, verringern sich jedoch kontinuierlich nach Süden hin, wobei für je 3°.0 geographischer Breite von einem um etwa 0°.1 geringeren Sehungsbogen auszugehen ist⁹⁾. Angemerkt sei außerdem, daß jede Verringerung des Sehungsbogens um 0°.8 die Beobachtung des Sothisfrühaufgangs um ca. 1 Tag früher erfolgen läßt. Dasselbe gilt, wenn die geographische Breite um 1°.0 nach Süden verlegt wird. Jeder Tag, den der heliakische Frühaufgang der Sothis eher zu beobachten ist, bedeutet jedoch — dem Spielraum der Tetraeteris gemäß — daß das Sothisdatum vier julianische Jahre später angesetzt werden muß. Der durch die Tetraeteris verursachten Unsicherheit entspricht es auch, wenn im folgenden für jedes nach Sehungsbogen (β) und geographischer Breite (φ) festgelegte Sothisdatum jeweils vier Jahresdaten angegeben werden¹⁰⁾.

Das Sothisdatum des Papyrus Berlin 10012¹¹⁾

Sesostris III. Jahr 7/IV prt 16

1. Grenzwerte beim Bezugsort Heliopolis/Memphis: 1875-1868

a. φ 30°.1-29°.9/ β 9°.4	b. φ 30°.1-29°.9/ β 8°.6
18. Juli 1875	17. Juli 1871
18. Juli 1874	17. Juli 1870
17. Juli 1873	16. Juli 1869
17. Juli 1872	16. Juli 1868

2. Grenzwerte beim Bezugsort Dahschur/el-Lischt: 1874-1867

a. φ 29°.8-29°.6/ β 9°.4	b. φ 29°.8-29°.6/ β 8°.6
18. Juli 1874	17. Juli 1870
17. Juli 1873	16. Juli 1869
17. Juli 1872	16. Juli 1868
17. Juli 1871	16. Juli 1867

⁹⁾ L. Borchardt-P. V. Neugebauer, in: *OLZ* 29 (1926), 309ff. und *OLZ* 30 (1927), 441ff.; L. Borchardt, *Die Mittel zur zeitlichen Festlegung von Punkten der ägyptischen Geschichte und ihre Anwendung* (Kairo 1935), 13.

¹⁰⁾ Die Berechnung der Sothisfrühaufgänge wurde nach den Anweisungen von P. V. Neugebauer, *Astronomische Chronologie* (Berlin und Leipzig 1929), 159ff. und Tf. E 58ff., vorgenommen.

¹¹⁾ L. Borchardt, in: *ZÄS* 37 (1899), 99; G. Möller, *Hieratische Lesestücke I* (Leipzig 1909), Tf. 19; vgl. auch W. F. Edgerton, in: *JNES* 1 (1942), 307ff.

3. Grenzwerte beim Bezugsort el-Lahun : 1871-1864

a. ϕ 29°.2/β 9°.4	b. ϕ 29°.2/β 8°.6
17. Juli 1871	16. Juli 1867
17. Juli 1870	16. Juli 1866
16. Juli 1869	15. Juli 1865
16. Juli 1868	15. Juli 1864

4. Grenzwerte beim Bezugsort Elephantine : 1848-1841

a. ϕ 24°.1/β 9°.2	b. ϕ 24°.1/β 8°.4
11. Juli 1848	10. Juli 1844
11. Juli 1847	10. Juli 1843
11. Juli 1846	10. Juli 1842
10. Juli 1845	9. Juli 1841

Das Sothisdatum des Papyrus Ebers I¹²⁾

Amenophis I. Jahr 9/III šmw 9

1. Grenzwerte beim Bezugsort Heliopolis/Memphis : 1544-1537

a. ϕ 30°.1-29°.9/β 9°.4	b. ϕ 30°.1-29°.9/β 8°.6
18. Juli 1544	17. Juli 1540
18. Juli 1543	17. Juli 1539
18. Juli 1542	17. Juli 1538
17. Juli 1541	16. Juli 1537

2. Grenzwerte beim Bezugsort Theben : 1525-1518

a. ϕ 25°.7/β 9°.3	b. ϕ 25°.7/β 8°.5
13. Juli 1525	12. Juli 1521
13. Juli 1524	12. Juli 1520
13. Juli 1523	12. Juli 1519
13. Juli 1522	12. Juli 1518

3. Grenzwerte beim Bezugsort Elephantine : 1518-1511

a. ϕ 24°.1/β 9°.2	b. ϕ 24°.1/β 8°.4
12. Juli 1518	11. Juli 1514
11. Juli 1517	10. Juli 1513
11. Juli 1516	10. Juli 1512
11. Juli 1515	10. Juli 1511

¹²⁾ L. Borchardt, *op. cit.* (Anm. 9), Blatt I (zwischen S. 20/21); vgl. auch W. F. Edgerton, in: *AJSL* 53 (1937), 193.

Das Sothisdatum auf einem Steinblock aus Elephantine¹³⁾

Tuthmosis III. Jahr 1-54/III šmw 28

1. Grenzwerte beim Bezugsort Heliopolis/Memphis : 1468-1461

Jahr 1 : 1521-1461¹⁴⁾

a. ϕ 30°.1-29°.9/β 9°.4	b. ϕ 30°.1-29°.9/β 8°.6
18. Juli 1468	17. Juli 1464
18. Juli 1467	17. Juli 1463
18. Juli 1466	17. Juli 1462
17. Juli 1465	16. Juli 1461

2. Grenzwerte beim Bezugsort Theben : 1449-1442

Jahr 1 : 1502-1442

a. ϕ 25°.7/β 9°.3	b. ϕ 25°.7/β 8°.5
13. Juli 1449	12. Juli 1445
13. Juli 1448	12. Juli 1444
13. Juli 1447	12. Juli 1443
13. Juli 1446	12. Juli 1442

3. Grenzwerte beim Bezugsort Elephantine : 1442-1435

Jahr 1 : 1495-1435

a. ϕ 24°.1/β 9°.2	b. ϕ 24°.1/β 8°.4
12. Juli 1442	11. Juli 1438
11. Juli 1441	10. Juli 1437
11. Juli 1440	10. Juli 1436
11. Juli 1439	10. Juli 1435

Werden bei der Berechnung des Sothisdatums Sesostri's III. zusätzlich die bekannten Monddaten der 12. Dynastie berücksichtigt, so fällt das 7. Jahr des Königs beim Bezugsort Heliopolis/Memphis entweder ins Jahr 1872 (Hypothese I) oder ins Jahr 1875 v.Chr. (Hypothese II)¹⁵⁾. Geht man dagegen von einer Beobachtung des Sothisfrühaufgangs in Dahschur oder el-Lischt aus, so entfällt die Alternative und es bleibt nur mehr Hypothese I, also das Jahr 1872, übrig, während el-Lahun als Beobachtungsort ganz auszuschneiden hätte, da sowohl 1872 wie auch 1875 außerhalb der betreffenden Grenzwerte liegen.

Bei Elephantine als Bezugsort sind die Monddaten der 12. Dynastie nach den

¹³⁾ *Urk.* IV/827,8.

¹⁴⁾ Bei der Berechnung des 1. Jahres Tuthmosis' III. ist davon auszugehen, daß im ungünstigsten Falle der obere Grenzwert, hier also das Jahr 1468, mit dem 54. Jahr des Königs identisch gewesen ist.

¹⁵⁾ R. A. Parker, *The Calendars of Ancient Egypt* (SAOC 26, Chicago 1950), 63ff.

Gesetzen des 25-Jahr-Zyklus um exakt 25 Jahre niedriger anzusetzen und lauten wie folgt¹⁶⁾:

Hypothese I: Monddaten A und C aus der Zeit Sesostri's III.
Monddaten B und D aus der Zeit Amenemhats III.

		überliefert	berechnet
A Jahr 3 Sesostri's III.	= 1851	III <i>šmw</i> 16	III <i>šmw</i> 16 (= 10.10.) 5 ¹⁰ Uhr
C Jahr 32 Sesostri's III.	= 1822	III <i>šht</i> 6	III <i>šht</i> 7 (= 27.1.) 11 ⁴⁹ Uhr
B Jahr 29 Amenemhats III.	= 1789	I <i>šmw</i> 8	I <i>šmw</i> 7 (= 17.7.) 11 ⁴⁴ Uhr
D Jahr 30 Amenemhats III.	= 1788	II <i>šmw</i> 26	II <i>šmw</i> 25 (= 3.9.) 22 ⁰² Uhr

Hypothese II: Monddaten B und D aus der Zeit Sesostri's III.
Monddaten A und C aus der Zeit Amenemhats III.

		überliefert	berechnet
B Jahr 29 Sesostri's III.	= 1828	I <i>šmw</i> 8	I <i>šmw</i> 9 (= 29.7.) 7 ⁴⁸ Uhr
D Jahr 30 Sesostri's III.	= 1827	II <i>šmw</i> 26	II <i>šmw</i> 27 (= 15.9.) 19 ⁰⁷ Uhr
A Jahr 3 Amenemhats III.	= 1815	III <i>šmw</i> 16	III <i>šmw</i> 17 (= 2.10.) 5 ⁰⁴ Uhr
C Jahr 32 Amenemhats III.	= 1786	III <i>šht</i> 6	III <i>šht</i> 8 (= 19.1.) 8 ⁵⁹ Uhr

Danach würde also das 7. Jahr Sesostri's III. mit den Jahren 1847 (Hypothese I) oder 1850 (Hypothese II) koinzidieren¹⁷⁾. Legen wir dabei für das Sothisdatum Sesostri's III. Elephantine als Bezugsort mit seinen Grenzwerten 1848-1841 zugrunde, so stünde uns nur mehr Hypothese I, also das Jahr 1847, zur Verfügung.

Wie an anderer Stelle gezeigt werden konnte¹⁸⁾, gibt uns die Summenzahl des Turiner Königspapyrus für die 12. Dynastie die Möglichkeit an die Hand, sich zwischen den genannten Hypothesen zu entscheiden und dabei Hypothese I auszuschließen, d.h. also das 7. Jahr Sesostri's III. könnte nur mehr mit 1875 oder aber mit dem 25 Jahre später liegenden Datum 1850 zusammenfallen. Da jedoch 1850 nicht mehr innerhalb der für Elephantine gültigen Grenzwerte liegt, bleibt allein das ältere Datum 1875 übrig, woraus zu schließen ist, daß während des Mittleren Reiches der Sothisfrühaufgang nicht in Elephantine, sondern in Heliopolis/Memphis beobachtet wurde. Auch der Residenzort Itjtaui, der bei el-Lischt, Dahschur oder weniger wahrscheinlich bei el-Lahun gelegen haben könnte¹⁹⁾, hätte als Bezugsort von Sothisdaten im Mittleren Reich auszuschneiden.

¹⁶⁾ Die Berechnung der Monddaten erfolgte nach den von C. Schoch, in: S. H. Langdon-J. K. Fotheringham, *The Venus Tablets of Ammizaduga* (Oxford 1928) veröffentlichten Tafeln. Zum 25-Jahr-Zyklus und den Ergebnissen der bisherigen Monddatenberechnungen vgl. W. Barta, in: *ZÄS* 106 (1979), 1 ff.

¹⁷⁾ Das Monddatum aus der Zeit Amenemhats IV., II *šmw* 17, ließe dann das 9. Jahr des Königs ins Jahr 1765 fallen: II *šmw* 17/18 (= 20./21.8.) 0³⁸ Uhr.

¹⁸⁾ W. Barta, in: *SAK* 7 (1979), 1 ff.

¹⁹⁾ J. v. Beckerath, *Untersuchungen zur politischen Geschichte der zweiten Zwischenzeit in Ägypten* (ÄgFo 23, Glückstadt 1965), 78 ff.; W. Helck, in: *LÄ* III (1978), Sp. 211.

Aus den bereits angesprochenen chronologischen Gründen darf mit hinreichender Sicherheit davon ausgegangen werden, daß Heliopolis/Memphis als Bezugsort von Sothisdaten im Neuen Reich nicht mehr in Betracht zu ziehen ist. Es besteht also in dieser Zeit nur noch die Notwendigkeit der Wahl zwischen Theben und Elephantine. Dabei hilft zunächst die Feststellung weiter, daß der Tag III *šmw* 9 im 9. Jahr Amenophis' I. vermutlich nicht nur als Kalendertag des Sothisfrühaufgangs, sondern ebenso als ein Neumondstag anzusehen ist²⁰⁾. Innerhalb des hier zu betrachtenden Zeitraums 1525-1511 fällt jedoch das Sothisdatum nur am 11. Juli 1517 auf einen Neumond und läßt damit lediglich noch Elephantine als Bezugsort von Sothisdaten im Neuen Reich zu.

Zu dem gleichen Ergebnis führt eine weitere Überlegung. Wie dargelegt werden konnte, scheinen die Krönungsfeiern der Könige im Neuen Reich an einem 2. Mondmonatstag begangen worden zu sein²¹⁾. Ausgehend von dieser Feststellung lassen sich u.a. auch die Regierungsantrittsjahre sowohl von Amenophis I. wie von Tuthmosis I. astronomisch bestimmen. Die an einem I *šht* 29 erfolgte Krönung Amenophis' I. fiel danach ins Jahr 1525 v.Chr., während die Krönung Tuthmosis' I., die an einem III *prt* 21 gefeiert wurde, im Jahre 1504 v.Chr. stattgefunden haben muß²²⁾. Erst 25 Jahre später, also in den Jahren 1500 bzw. 1479 v.Chr., würden die Krönungsdaten Amenophis' I. und Tuthmosis' I. wieder mit einem 2. Mondmonatstag koinzidieren²³⁾. Hat aber 1525 als 1. Jahr Amenophis' I. zu gelten, so würde sein 9. Jahr im Jahre 1517 begonnen haben und abermals auf Elephantine als Bezugsort weisen. Das Sothisdatum Tuthmosis' III. bietet demgegenüber keine weitere Handhabe, sich zwischen Theben und Elephantine als Bezugsort von Sothisdaten im Neuen Reich zu entscheiden, da der jeweilige zeitliche Rahmen wegen des Fehlens einer Angabe zum Regierungsjahr einen zu weiten Spielraum darstellt.

Geht man von 1875 als dem 7. Jahr Sesostri's III. und von 1517 als dem 9. Jahr Amenophis' I. aus, so fällt auf, daß beide Daten — legt man Heliopolis/Memphis bzw. Elephantine als Beobachtungsort des Sothisfrühaufgangs zugrunde — einen Sehungsbogenwert voraussetzen, der an der obersten Grenze des angenommenen Spielraums liegt. Den Beobachtungen des Sothisfrühaufgangs scheint

²⁰⁾ R. A. Parker, *op. cit.*, 42; E. Hornung, in: *ZDMG* 117 (1967), 14 f.; W. Barta, in: *ZÄS* 106 (1979), 2.

²¹⁾ W. Barta, in: *SAK* 8, 1980 [im Druck]. Mit der Möglichkeit, auch an Elephantine als Bezugsort von Sothisdaten zu denken, wurde in dem bereits Ende des Jahres 1978 abgeschlossenen Artikel noch nicht gerechnet.

²²⁾ Auch die Krönung Amenophis' II. erfolgte an einem 2. Mondmonatstag, wenn wir seine Koregenz mit Tuthmosis III. im Jahre 1428 v. Chr. beginnen lassen, die Thronbesteigung Tuthmosis' III. also ins Jahr 1479 verlegen.

²³⁾ Geht man nur 14 Jahre zurück, also in die Jahre 1511 bzw. 1490 v.Chr., so fielen die beiden Krönungsdaten auf den 3. Tag des Mondmonats.

demnach im Altertum eher eine Sehungsbogengröße von 9°.4 bzw. 9°.2 als von 8°.6 bzw. 8°.4 entsprochen zu haben, wodurch Elephantine erneut gegenüber Theben als Bezugsort von Sothisdaten während des Neuen Reiches zu favorisieren wäre, da das Jahr 1517 bei Theben als Beobachtungsort nur dann zu erreichen ist, wenn man 8°.3 als Sehungsbogengröße unterstellt, also einen Wert akzeptiert, der so gering ist, daß er sich kaum noch rechtfertigen läßt. Überträgt man übrigens diese Überlegungen auf das Sothisdatum aus der Zeit Tuthmosis' III., so wäre die betreffende Steinblockinschrift analog zum Sothisdatum Amenophis' I. bei Elephantine als Bezugsort und einem möglichst hohen Sehungsbogenwert etwa in das Jahr 1441 zu datieren. Das Sothisdatum Tuthmosis' III. würde danach bei Annahme von 1479 als Jahr der Thronbesteigung aus dem Regierungsjahr 39 stammen können.

Als Fazit läßt sich jedenfalls nach dem bisher Gesagten folgendes formulieren. Da Itjtaui ebenso wie Theben als Bezugsort von Sothisdaten ausscheiden muß, hat man offenbar weder im Mittleren Reich noch im Neuen Reich am Residenzort selbst den Sothisfrühaufgang beobachtet. Dafür war vielmehr während des Mittleren Reiches Heliopolis/Memphis, im Neuen Reich dagegen Elephantine zuständig. Wenn wir dabei anstelle von Heliopolis oder Memphis an das ein wenig südlich von Heliopolis gelegene Babylon denken, so wird deutlich, daß beide Beobachtungsorte sowohl auf religiösem wie ökonomischem Gebiet Gemeinsamkeiten besessen haben; denn Babylon ist ebenso wie Elephantine aufs engste mit dem Nil und seinen Festen sowie mit der für die Wirtschaft des Landes so bedeutsamen Nilüberschwemmung verbunden. So ließ die Mythologie den Nil nicht nur bei Elephantine entquellen²⁴⁾, auch Babylon galt als geheimnisvolle Ursprungsstätte des Flusses²⁵⁾, weshalb man von einem „Nil, der in Babylon ist“, sprechen konnte²⁶⁾. Ebenso sind die verschiedenen Nilhöhen des Jahres sowohl auf der Babylon benachbarten Insel Roda wie auch in Elephantine an Nilometern gemessen worden²⁷⁾. Da andererseits der Frühaufgang der Sothis im Altertum annähernd mit dem Beginn der Nilüberschwemmung zusammenfiel, weshalb die Göttin Sothis dem Ägypter als Kunderin der Nilschwelle galt²⁸⁾, darf es nicht wundernehmen, wenn man Babylon und später Elephantine für die Beobachtung des Sothisfrühaufgangs auswählte, den Vorgang also an die mythischen Quelllöcher des Nils und die Stätten der Nilmessung verlegte.

Trotz der Feststellung, daß für das Sothisdatum des Papyrus Ebers als Bezugsort nicht Theben, sondern Elephantine zugrundezulegen ist, muß weiterhin von

²⁴⁾ H. Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte* (Berlin 1952), 525; vgl. auch E. Edel, in: *MDAIK* 32 (1976), 35 ff.

²⁵⁾ E. Drioton, in: *BIE* 34 (1951-1952), 291 ff.

²⁶⁾ LD Text III, 92.

²⁷⁾ H. Bonnet, *op. cit.*, 525; Labib Habachi, in: *LÄ I* (1975), Sp. 1223.

²⁸⁾ H. Bonnet, *op. cit.*, 743; R. Krauss, *op. cit.*, 190 ff.; R. A. Parker, *op. cit.*, 34.

einer Thronbesteigung Tuthmosis' I. im Jahre 1504 und damit von einer zusammen 25-jährigen Regierungsdauer der Könige Tuthmosis I. und Tuthmosis II. ausgegangen werden. Da jedoch von Tuthmosis I. lediglich Jahr 4²⁹⁾, wahrscheinlich aber auch Jahr 9³⁰⁾, von Tuthmosis II. dagegen nur sein 1. Jahr³¹⁾ durch Denkmäler bezeugt sind, muß eine für beide Könige geltende Regierungszeit von zusammen 25 Jahren zunächst bedenklich stimmen, auch wenn es keine wirklichen Beweise gegen eine derartige Annahme gibt; denn weder die zeitgenössischen Beamtenbiographien³²⁾ noch die quantitative Analyse von Siegelamuletten der frühen Tuthmosidenzeit³³⁾ können mit Sicherheit ausschließen, daß Tuthmosis I. und Tuthmosis II. von 1504 bis 1479 regiert haben.

Nach den Untersuchungen von W. Helck hat die manethonische Tradition für beide Könige eine annähernd gleiche Regierungslänge, nämlich für Tuthmosis I. 12 Jahre und 9 Monate und für Tuthmosis II. 13 Jahre, überliefert³⁴⁾. Obwohl sich daraus exakt das auch aus den astronomischen Berechnungen hervorgehende 25-jährige Intervall ergeben würde, sind doch Zweifel an den Zahlen Manethos angebracht³⁵⁾. Es existieren jedoch noch andere Hinweise, die trotz der schlechten Belegsituation auf eine längere Regierungszeit Tuthmosis' II. deuten könnten. Neben einer jetzt freilich verloren gegangenen Statueninschrift, die das 18. Jahr des Königs festgehalten haben soll³⁶⁾, läßt sich dem Wortlaut einer Beamtenbiographie möglicherweise eine mindestens 11-jährige Regierungsdauer Tuthmosis' II. entnehmen³⁷⁾. Damit in Übereinstimmung stünde die etwa 13-jährige Regierungszeit, die für den König aus der Tatsache erschlossen werden kann, daß Hatschepsut in ihrem 16. Jahr ein Sedfest gefeiert hat³⁸⁾. Denn Hatschepsut, die sich als direkte Nachfolgerin Tuthmosis' I. fühlte, könnte ihre fiktive Regierungszeit vom Tode ihres Vaters an gerechnet haben. Wenn man dabei etwa 13 Jahre für Tuthmosis' II. veranschlagt, so hätte die Königin in ihrem 16. Jahr, das nach ihrer gemeinsamen Regierung mit Tuthmosis III. zählte, annähernd 30 Jahre regiert und damit genau diejenige Zeitspanne erreicht, die gewöhnlich zwischen

²⁹⁾ *Urk.* IV/91,9.

³⁰⁾ A. Mariette, *Karnak* (Paris 1875), Tf. 32; vgl. dazu E. F. Wente-Ch. C. van Siclen, in: *Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes* (Chicago 1976), 225 f.

³¹⁾ *Urk.* IV/137,9.

³²⁾ vgl. J. v. Beckerath, *op. cit.*, 219 f. sowie in: *BiOr* 33 (1976), 178.

³³⁾ E. Hornung-E. Staehelin, *Skarabäen und andere Siegelamulette aus Basler Sammlungen* (Mainz 1976), 58 f.

³⁴⁾ W. Helck, *Untersuchungen zu Manetho und den ägyptischen Königslisten* (UGAÄ 18, Berlin 1956), 64. Auch K. A. Kitchen, in: M. L. Bierbrier, *The Late New Kingdom in Egypt* (Warminster 1975), IX, rechnet mit 13 Jahren für Tuthmosis II.

³⁵⁾ vgl. R. Krauss, *op. cit.*, 243 f.

³⁶⁾ G. Daressy, in: *ASAE* 1 (1900) 99; vgl. auch A. Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs* (Oxford 1961), 180.

³⁷⁾ *Urk.* IV/207 ff.; D. B. Redford, in: *JNES* 25 (1966), 118 f.

³⁸⁾ *Urk.* IV/359,1 und 367,3-4.

Thronbesteigung und Sedfestfeier zu verstreichen hatte³⁹⁾. Auch daß Tuthmosis II. schon als Knabe, nämlich als „Falke im Nest“⁴⁰⁾, den Thron bestiegen hat, danach aber noch zwei Kinder zeugte, setzt eine längere Regierungszeit voraus⁴¹⁾. Ob sie freilich tatsächlich 13 Jahre währte, muß dahingestellt bleiben, weshalb besser nicht der Versuch unternommen wird, die zusammen für Tuthmosis I. und Tuthmosis II. zu berechnende 25-jährige Regierungsdauer zwischen den beiden Königen aufzuteilen.

³⁹⁾ vgl. W. Helck, *op. cit.*, 65.

⁴⁰⁾ *Urk.* IV/58, 15.

⁴¹⁾ vgl. E. F. Wente-Ch. C. van Siclen, *loc. cit.*, 226f.

AN EGYPTIAN MUMMY IN THE BIJBELS MUSEUM, AMSTERDAM

T. H. M. FALKE — LEIDEN

In 1974 an Egyptian mummy (pl I, 1) belonging to the Bijbels Museum at Amsterdam was subjected to radiological examination as part of the reorganization of the Egyptian collection. The mummy was presented to the Museum in 1906 by a Dutch missionary in Egypt, who had bought it from the Director of the Cairo Museum, together with a wooden sarcophagus most probably not belonging to it; both are said to have been found in the Fayyum¹⁾.

The bad state of preservation of the surface of the mummy is mainly due to the fact that it was in a travelling exhibition through the Netherlands for years. On one of these occasions a schoolboy fell through the glass case containing the mummy; a piece of glass which we found during the radiological examination dates from this incident. A lot of damage was also caused by the invasion of insects between the different layers of the dandage. The insects, identified as *necrobia rufipes* beetles and *puparia* of the *piophil* fly, do not date from ancient times²⁾.

The wrappings consist of 11 layers enveloped by a linen shroud; head and chest of the mummy are covered by a mask and chestplate made of polychrome painted cartonnage; both the shroud and the chestplate are kept in place by a linen stripe (width ca. 1 cm), consisting of three layers, the first two wrapped diagonally, crossing each other, the third (uppermost) wrapped horizontally around the body. Similar examples of bandaging and cartonnage (with only two in stead of the five pieces usually found on Ptolemaic mummies) may be found in e.g. the British Museum³⁾ and the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek at Copenhagen⁴⁾.

The mummy is covered with a black substance which looks like bitumen. Chemical analysis carried out by the Central Research Laboratory for Objects of Art and Science in Amsterdam proved by means of thinlayer chromatography

¹⁾ See for more details the publication of the sarcophagus: Jac. van Dijk, *Egyptian Antiquities in the Bijbels Museum, Amsterdam - I, Göttinger Miszellen* 36 (1980).

²⁾ A. Curry, 'The Insects Associated with the Manchester Mummies', in: A. R. David (ed.), *The Manchester Mummy Project* (Manchester 1979), 113-117.

³⁾ P. H. K. Gray & W. R. Dawson, *Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities in the British Museum, 1: Human Remains* (London 1968), Nos. 68 and 69.

⁴⁾ M. Mogensen, *La Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg - La collection égyptienne* (Copenhagen 1930), Pl. LXXV, No. A 585 (= Æ.I.N. 927); cfr. O. Christensen, 'Un examen radiologique des momies égyptiennes des musées danois', in: *Semaines des Hôpitaux de Paris*, 14 juin 1969, 1991.

and infrared spectrometry that this substance is colophonium. This resin is the residue remaining after the distillation of terpentine spirits from the balsam or crude terpentine produced by various species of pine⁵). The wrappings were identified as linen⁶); the only cotton found in mummy cloth seems to date from Roman times⁷).

Around the feet the bandages are badly damaged, exposing the toes of the mummy. The end-phalanges of the first and second toe of the right foot are missing; of the remaining toes the nails are still *in situ*; they do not show painting.

The total length of the mummy is 1.56 m.

Radiological examination

The mummy was examined at the Radiological Institute of the Free University of Amsterdam. The complete mummy was X-rayed in a.p. view, the thorax and abdomen in an additional lateral projection. We used an 80 KV technique with automatic exposure.

The interpretation of the X-ray films was limited by superposition of radiopaque wrappings and cartonnage. The skeleton is rather gracile; no abnormalities in structure and calcification can be seen. The soft tissue is rather well preserved, though in some parts it is torn due to dessication. There are no signs of generalized degenerative skeletal disease. Except for a small piece of glass (PL. 1, 2 and 4) no artifacts were found.

Skull

There is a complete synostosis of skull sutures. Large pneumatization of the frontal sinus, normal pneumatization of the mastoid. No signs of radiopaque artificial eyes in the intraorbital region. There is evidence of destruction of the ethmoid bone, probably to be connected with the removal of the brains during the mummification.

The occlusion of the teeth shows a type 2 molar relationship according to Angle. The wisdom-molars have erupted. The teeth are all present and in good condition; there is hardly any evidence of attrition, which seems to have been the most important teeth pathology in ancient Egypt⁸).

Thorax and abdomen (PL. 1, 4)

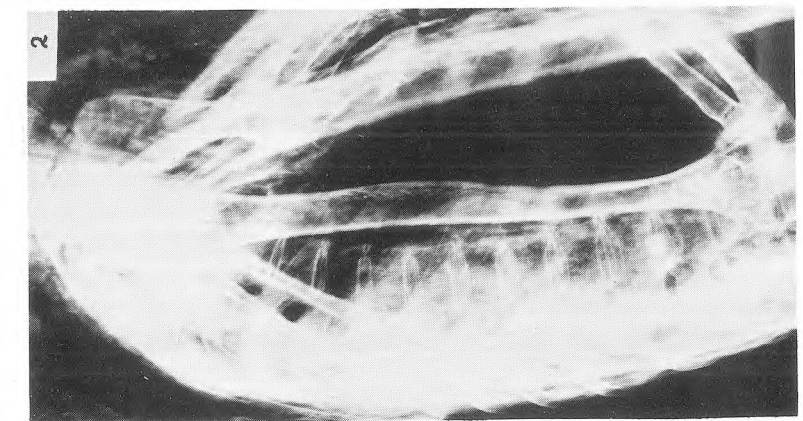
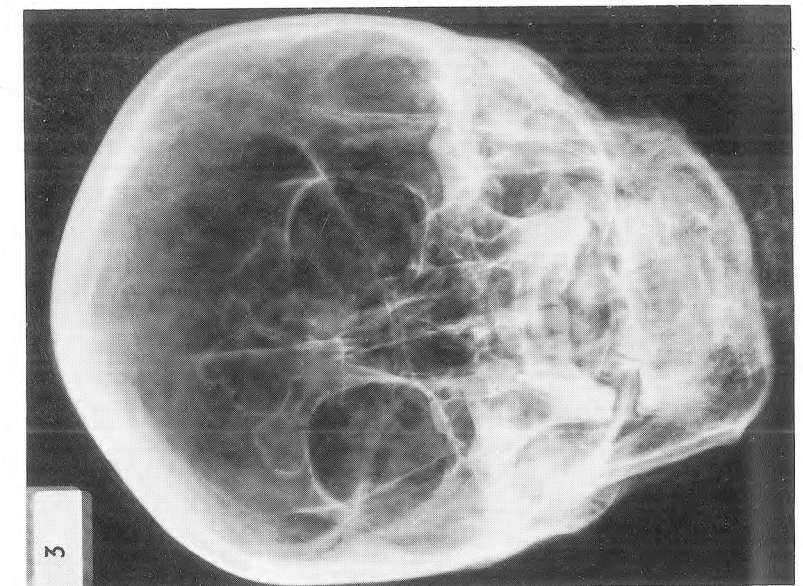
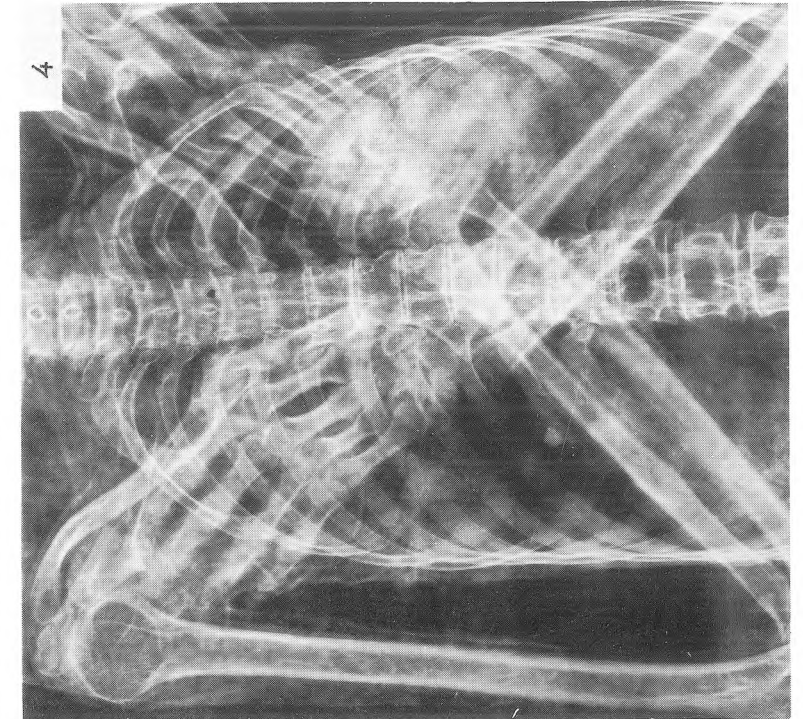
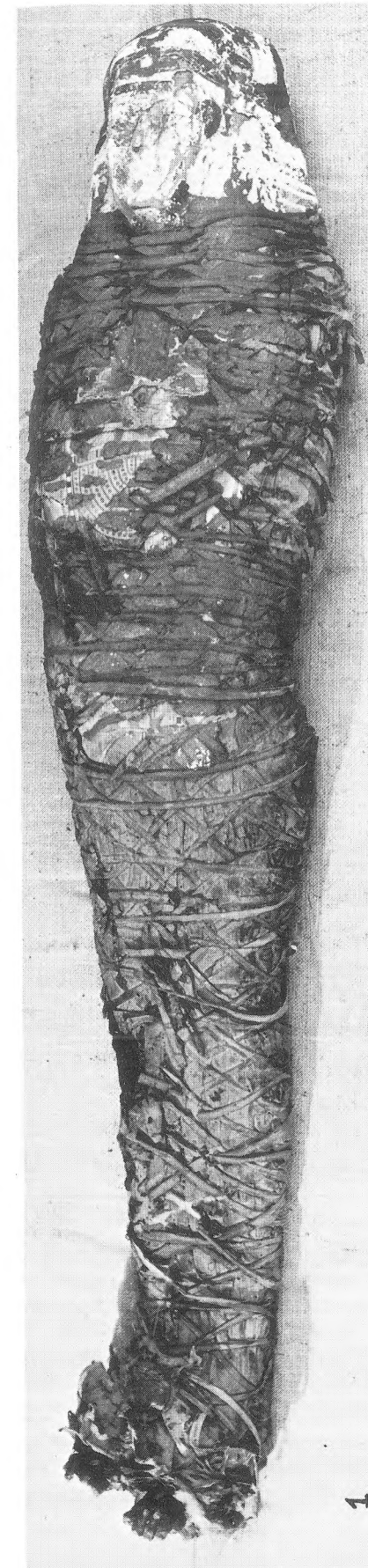
Tenderly built symmetrical thorax. There is a very small amount of filling material, introduced dorsally in the left hemithorax. At the level of the tenth rib on the left

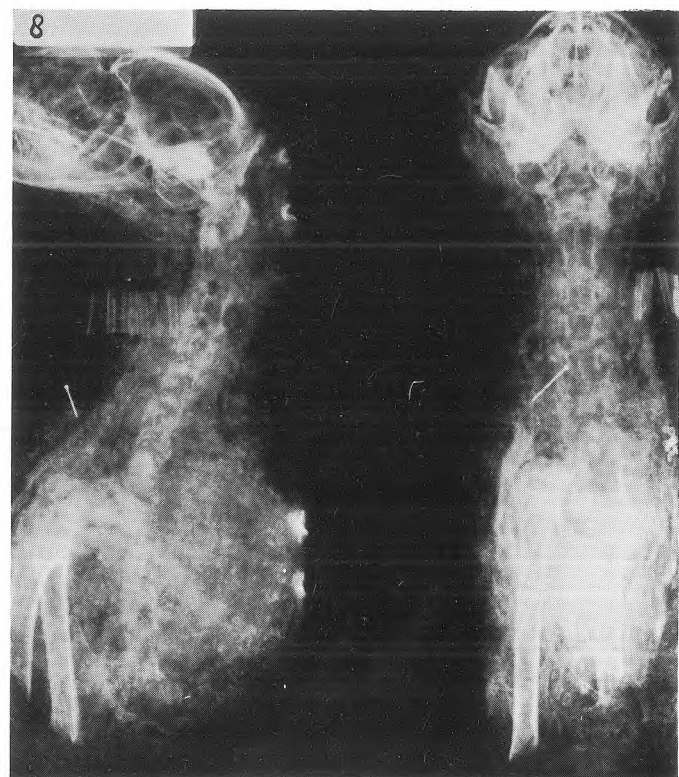
⁵) R. J. Gettens & G. L. Stout, *Painting Materials: a short encyclopaedia* (New York 1966²), 14.

⁶) *Identification of Textile Materials*, published by the Textile Institute, (Manchester 1967).

⁷) A. Cockburn, R. A. Barraco, Th. A. Reyman & W. H. Peck, 'Autopsy of an Egyptian Mummy', in: *Science* 187, no. 4182 (1975), 1155-1160.

⁸) F. Filce Leek, 'Observations on the Dental Pathology Seen in Ancient Egyptian Skulls', *JEA* 52 (1966), 59-64; Id., 'A Technique for the Oral Examination of a Mummy', *JEA* 57 (1971), 105-109; Id., 'Teeth and Bread in Ancient Egypt', *JEA* 58 (1972), 126-132.





Nrs. 5-7. Egyptian mummy in the Bijbels Museum, Amsterdam. Nr. 8. Mummified cat.

side a small calcification was noticed, located in the dorsal wall. The real nature of this calcification could not be established; most likely it was introduced during the mummification-process and does not represent calcification of a guinea worm, as identified in Manchester mummy no. 1770⁹⁾.

Vertebral column (PL. II, 5)

Slight spondylosis thoracalis with anterior osteophytosis, subchondral sclerosis, narrowing of the ventral disc-spaces and an accentuation of the normal thoracal kyphosis. The lumbar vertebral column shows no abnormalities. There are no signs of disc-opacification.

Pelvis (PL. II, 6)

Complete fusion of the crista iliaca. The sciatic nodge is wide. A sulcus paragnathoidalis is present; the pelvic entrance is oval shaped. The small package of radio-paque material at the left side probably represents the position of the incision-wound made to remove the organs; these wounds are often closed with a resin-soaked linen parcel.

Extremities (PL. I, 4 and II, 7)

The upper arms are lateral to the thorax, whereas the lower arms are positioned crosswise on top of the thoracic cage with the hands open. There are no signs of subcutaneous filling materials. All suture lines have closed.

Conclusion

From the information given above we conclude that the mummy is that of an adult who, according to the condition of the teeth and the absence of generalized degenerative skeletal disease, died at the age of ca. 30 years. The skeletal features are definitely female. The bandaging and the cartonnage is typical for the Ptolemaic period, which is in agreement with the position of the arms. The internal preservation of the mummy is very good.

The degenerative disease of the thoracic vertebrae must be secondary, because it is only found here; it may be due to an underlying process like physical strain or bad posture. *Spondylosis deformans* is often found in Egyptian mummies, a remarkable fact, considering the low average lifetime of less than 40 years.

APPENDIX

The Bijbels Museum is also in the possession of a mummified head of a male adult; this head was examined in 1976 by means of i.a. no-screen techniques and computer-tomography; the results have been published elsewhere¹⁰⁾.

⁹⁾ I. Isherwood, H. Jarvis & R. A. Fawcitt, 'Radiology of the Manchester Mummies', in: A. R. David (ed.), o.c., 32.

¹⁰⁾ T. H. M. Falke, 'Onderzoek van een Egyptische mummie met behulp van nieuwe röntgen-

In addition, there is a mummified cat of the Ptolemaic period; according to Dr P. Armitage these cats probably represent the species *Felis silvestris libyca*¹¹). The wrappings of linen are in good condition; there is a decoration of fayence beads around the neck. Radiological examination showed that the mummy is actually an incomplete adult cat, of which only the head, part of the vertebra column and proximal parts of the forelegs are present (PL. II, 8). Similar examples of mutilated cat mummies have been detected in the Museo Arqueologico in Madrid¹²) and in the Museum of Natural History in London¹³); in fact incomplete mummies of both animals and humans are often found in the Ptolemaic period¹⁴).

Leiden, University Hospital

technieken', *Nederlands Tijdschrift voor Geneeskunde* 123, nr. 19 (1979), 802-806 + 7 figs.; some photographs may also be found in Id., 'Het wetenschappelijk onderzoek van Egyptische mummies, I', in: *Gamma* — Tijdschrift voor radiologische laboranten, 30, nr. 1 (1980), 3-12.

¹¹) Unpublished paper on Egyptian mummified cats, read at the congress on "Science in Egyptology" held at Manchester, June 1979.

¹²) E. Llagostera Cuenca, *Estudio radiológico de las momias Egipcias del Museo Arqueológico Nacional de Madrid* (Madrid 1978), 91 (no. 15.122).

¹³) see n. 11 above.

¹⁴) R. C. Moodie, *Roentgenologic studies of Egyptian and Peruvian Mummies*, Field Museum of Natural History (Chicago 1931), 25 (cat. no. 33011).

AN EARLY UR III COPY OF THE ABŪ ŠĀLĀBIKH "NAMES AND PROFESSIONS" LIST

F. M. FALES, VENICE — TH. J. H. KRISPIJN, LEIDEN*)

The cuneiform text presented in the following pages is part of a private collection; the authors wish to thank the owner for his kind permission to study and publish it. The piece may be described as a relatively large fragment of a cylinder of reddish clay, broken along the axes of width and length: it is thus in fact a remnant of semi-cylindrical shape, bearing a written surface of 16.5×8.2 cms along its side, while its upper base has a "diameter" of 10.5 cms. Five columns of script, bearing from six to eight lines of text, survive on the side; on the upper base, eight partially preserved lines followed by an uninscribed space are comprised within a square ruling fitted into its circular shape (PL. III).

The provenience of the text (hereafter termed Cyl[inder]) is unknown. The script, arranged on the side within rectangular frames or "boxes" formed by horizontal rulings connecting the vertical column-divisions, but only between horizontal lines in the upper square, may be dated to the Early Ur III period¹). On the other hand, the contents of the inscription point to a comparatively much earlier date, since the five columns on the side bear portions of a list proving to correspond to the inventory of "names and professions" published by R. D. Biggs in his *Inscriptions from Tell Abū Šālābikh* (= *IAS*; *OIP* 99, Chicago 1974), p. 63 ff.

Although attested in various exemplars from Abū Šālābikh proper, the "Names and professions list" is described by its editor as having no precise parallel from Fara, Gasur, Kish or other sites²). In this sense, as will be shown below, the Early Ur III copy is of high interest for the checks it allows on some problems of reading and interpretation stemming from the *IAS* text (especially as regards partially preserved attestations in the original, specific sign-values, arrangement of the

*) This article is in all respects the product of research effected in common by both authors, with many mutual exchanges of views. A preliminary copy (F.) was the occasion for both authors' search into the *IAS* material and for the identification of the text and the specific passages (IV/79); two separate drafts were subsequently written, then compared in Leiden for the drawing up of the final manuscript (VIII/79), also on the basis of the photographs kindly made by Dr. Sandro Salvatori. The authors would also like to thank Mr. F. A. M. Wiggermann for his kind suggestions on specific points.

¹) Cf. in particular the shape of the following signs: NU (I, 6), GUL (II, 4), NE (III, 5), ŠU (IV, 5), NISABA (Colophon, 1) like ITT I, Pl. 15, 1267, SEM (IV, 6).

²) Biggs, *IAS*, 62.

graphs within the frames, etc.), although, of course, allowance must—and will—be made for the interpretative achievement of the copyist, as possibly leading to solutions on the more ancient texts which modern scholarship finds problematical³⁾. In itself, the text is to be arranged with a number of other copies of Presargonic documents from the late IIIrd – early IIInd millennium, bearing witness as such to a specific chapter in the history of Mesopotamian scribal traditions⁴⁾.

The most complete exemplar of the *IAS* “Names and professions list” is text B (= *IAS*, no. 61), which may be reconstructed as originally comprising twelve columns of inventory on the Obverse (11 of which preserved) for a total of approx. 280 lines, and the colophon on the Reverse. The contents of *Cyl* correspond to parts of cols. iv-viii, and in particular to lines 81-86, 105-112, 130-137, 155-160, 178-184 of the main *IAS* manuscript. Since all five columns of the Early Ur III copy preserve their respective beginnings, a structural comparison in line : column subdivision between *IAS* no. 61 and *Cyl* may be brought forth as follows :

<i>IAS</i> , no. 61		<i>Cyl</i>	
col.	begins on line	col.	begins on line = line of <i>IAS</i>
iv	75	*I	81
v	105	*II	105
vi	129	*III	130
vii	154	*IV	155
viii	180	*V	178

As may be seen, *Cyl* has a more regular subdivision of lines within its columns (resp. 24, 25, 25, 23) than the main manuscript of the *IAS* list (30, 24, 25, 26 for the same columns); apart from the initial pair, however, column-beginnings in the two texts correspond quite closely. In this light, but also taking into account a supposed average of 24 lines per column throughout *Cyl*, the view may be held that the Early Ur III copy represented, in complete form, a twelve-column cylinder bearing the entire “Names and professions list”, such as is known from the combination of the different manuscripts in *IAS*. The upper base of the cylinder was instead dedicated to the colophon of the text.

*

³⁾ Cf. especially *Cyl* II, 5 = *IAS*, 108; III, 4 = *IAS*, 133; the complex of problems surrounding the equivalence between IV, 2-3 and *IAS*, 156; etc. See the commentary for specific treatment.

⁴⁾ Cf. e.g. the different examples treated by M. Civil-R.D. Biggs, ‘Notes sur des textes sumériens archaïques’, *RA* 60 (1966), 1-16; also, the ED Lu A list published in *MSL* 12, 4ff. Most recently, on the problems surrounding the reproduction of Sumerian texts in the post-Sumerian age, cf. S.J. Lieberman, *The Sumerian Loanwords in Old-Babylonian Akkadian* I HSS 22; (Missoula 1977), passim.



Early UR III Copy of the Abū Šālābikh “names and professions list”.
Top : columns *I-*II and *III-*IV; bottom : columns *IV-*V and top with colophon.

On p. 62 of *IAS*, Biggs stated that “the origin and the purpose of this text are by no means certain”; and surely a limited fragment such as the one published here is hardly sufficient to bring about any substantial modification to this view. Nevertheless, through examination of the later copy in connection with recently published findings on the geographical inventories of the overall Abū Šālābikh-Fara-Ebla corpus⁵), the authors have come to the tentative conclusion that the list was not merely designed to provide personal names with the relevant professional qualifications, but also (or at times alternatively) to indicate toponyms with which the named persons were associated. Biggs himself (*ibid.*) noted that “several individuals are further identified by the name of what seems likely to be their home town (e.g., Adab, Sippar)”; but this evaluation appears to be limited to a consideration of well-known place names, or at most to those bearing the suffixed determinative *ki*, whereas—in the opinion of the authors—a few more attestations, although lacking the *ki*, may be made out as toponyms on the basis of Presargonic parallels, and some more may be surmised as such. Thus, a preliminary definition of the inventory might be modified to “Name, Profession, and Toponym List”: and this definition would imply the possibility of considering the original text in its entirety as some form of model cadaster or census, to be ranged within the scholarly production from Tell Abū Šālābikh.

Transliteration

Cyl (col., line)	<i>IAS</i> , p. 63f. (line)
1. l]ú anše	81. lú anše
2. é]-nu-si	82. é-nu-si
3. šubur ki	83. šubur
4. mes]-pa-è-a	84. mes-pa-‘è’(?)
5. i]n’u	85. x in x
6.] nu	86. nu ma tar ki
7.]x ,ma’ ,a	
*II, 1. lugal-du ₁₀	105. lugal du ₁₀
2. lú “šeg ₉ ”-maš- dà-SAL	106. lú x [x] 107. šeg ₉ -maš maš-dà
3. ur-URU x TU-URU x TU	108. ur-URU x ^{TU} _{TU}
4. bur-gul	109. bur-gul
5. ur-è-a	110. ur-LAK 647
6. lú-geštin	111. lú-geštin

⁵) G. Pettinato, ‘L’atlante geografico del Vicino Oriente antico attestato ad Ebla e ad Abū Šālābikh. I’, *OrNS* 47 (1978), 50-73.

- | | |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 7. ud-pa-è- | 112. ud-è-mu |
| a | |
| 8. [()] muḥaldim | |
| *III, 1. SAḤ[AR? x x] | 130. SAḤAR bu kár |
| 2. me[s x] | 131. mes-sar |
| 3. gal sukkal 'é' 'KWU 509' | 132. gal-sukkal-é x |
| 4. AN GIG ra 'a' | 133. dMI.MUŠEN-me-ru |
| 5. bil-á- | 134. an-bíl-du ₁₀ |
| nu-du ₁₀ | |
| 6. šabra (PA.AL) | 135. e-gi PA.KAŠ ₄ |
| 7. ù-sar | 136. ù-sar |
| 8. [ù x x] | 137. ù gal-gal |
| *IV, 1. [ašgab] gal | 155. ašgab-gal |
| 2. amar-an[()] | 156. amar-an-si lú-kuš |
| 3. lú kuš a si | |
| 4. i-na-SAR | 157. sig-na-sar |
| 5. šu-i | 158. šu-i |
| 6. lugal-ŠEM | 159. lugal-LAK 586 |
| 7. i[gi x] | 160. IGI+DUB |
| *V, 1. im-mar | 178. im é [ma]r |
| 2. é-bur-gul | 179. bur-gul. |
| 3. sag an ḤÚB | 180. [g]iš an tuk |
| 4. ganun-KWU 871 | 181. ganun hab |
| 5. a-za-KA×K[ĀR?] | 182. az KA×ŠU |
| 6. sikil SAL+[] | 183. sikil |
| 7. []×[] | 184. bíl-an-s[i](?) |

Colophon

1. dnisaba
2. mí-zi
3. mí-ša₆-[ga]
4. [i]m-gíd[-da]
5. du[b-sar?]
6. ir₁₁[
7. ne-n[e
8. iš?]

Commentary

Cyl I, 2. For the name é-nu-si, cf. the references by Biggs, *IAS* p. 70; also M. G. Biga, *OrAnt* 17 (1978), 105.

IAS, 83. šubur occurs in Fara as personal name (III, *47b-*48a) and as professional indication (cf. ED Lu B, *MSL* 12, 13:37). In *Cyl*, the determinative ki is a rather clear indication that the copyist took it as a geographical name; for šubur as an early writing of Subartu, see *RépGéo.* I, 146, 147; D. O. Edzard, *Sum. Rechtsurk. d. III. Jahrt.* (1968), 210, although the presence of ŠUBUR.a.ni as variant for ir.da.ni (C. Wilcke, *Das Lugalbandaepos*, 44¹¹⁶; cf. also *CAD A/2*, 243b) may be used to show a certain overlapping between the indications of profession and place to which the sign is relevant.

Cyl I, 4 = *IAS*, 84. The doubtful 'è' in *IAS* is confirmed by *Cyl*. The name mes-pa-è also occurs in l. 263 of the *IAS* text; for the two final components notice also ur-sag-pa-è, *ibid.*, l. 253; [x]-pa-è, *IAS* p. 35b; and en-[p]a-è from the most recently published Abū Šālābikh texts (R. D. Biggs-J. N. Postgate, *Iraq* 40[1978], 105:i, 3). Cf. the attestations listed in Fara, III, *18f., s.vv. a?-pa-è, gar-ud(-ud)-pa-è, é-zid-pa-è, é-kur-pa-è, é-pa-è, ud-pa-è, ur-sag-pa-è, kur-ra-me-pa-è, lugal-pa-è, maš-pa-è, me-zi-pa-è, me-pa-è, men-pa-è, sa(é?)-zi-pa-è. For pa-è = šupû, "to bring forth, to make manifest, to make appear", cf. *ŠL II/2*, p. 503:153; *CAD A/2*, 201b-202a. For the equivalence between *IAS* (pa-è) and *Cyl* (pa-è-a), it may be observed that the -a of the determined state of the *hamṭu*-participle is generally not noted in the Fara period: cf. Biggs, *ZA* 61 (1971), 201 (Keš-temple Hymn 22/23 dù = OB/Ur III dù-a; 25 ru = OB/Ur III ri.a).

IAS, 85. The half-preserved sign after IN in *IAS*, no. 73(=F, pl. 40) may represent LAK 525 or 527.

IAS, 86. Biggs' nu:ma:tar:ki is probably to be considered equivalent to the toponym tar-ma-nuki attested in TM. 75, G. 2231, VI:19 (cf. G. Pettinato, *OrNS* 47 [1978], 57; 68, *ad l.* 134). In this light, the corresponding line in *Cyl* might be integrated to give [tar-ma]-nu, although the possibility remains, that the next line (*Cyl I*, 7) held in fact ta]r:ma:a, and l. 6 only nu, or ki:nu. For further cases of uneven distribution of the signs between the two texts, cf. II, 2 = 106-107; II, 7-8 = 112; IV, 2-3 = 156.

IAS, 105. The remark by Biggs, p. 65, note: "Perhaps room for gal in F" has less justification now, due to the correspondence with *Cyl II*, 1.

Cyl II, 2 = *IAS*, 106-107. The second sign in *Cyl* is a mixture of KWU 679 and 553: it resembles šeg₉ in the element GADA, but presents an ending, like dāra in the age following Fara and Abū Šālābikh (cf. *RA* 63, 111⁴). On the signs šeg₉ and dāra in the Fara period, cf. Biggs, *ZA* 61, 205 (resp. LAK 263 and 269). For the dāra.maš.dù = *najjālum*, cf. *MSL* 8/2: Ḥḫ XIV 149. The last sign is clearly SAL (cf. Colophon, 2, 3): it is the only actual element of variation between the Ur III text and the *IAS* attestations. For the latter, it may be noticed that the second occurrence of maš in ms. B is difficult to explain: so that, on the basis of ms. C, šeg₉-maš-dā might be preferred as the common version of the *IAS* list.

Cyl II, 3 = *IAS*, 108. For URU × TU-URU × TU, cf. *TCS* 3, 73: Diri IV 114; *MSL* 11, 172: 29 (*AHW*, 1220b). The URU × TU of *IAS* should represent the shape of the Diri-complex in the Fara period.

Cyl II, 5 = *IAS*, 110. Cf. *IAS*, p. 111 for the sign LAK 647; also p. 35³⁶ for its occurrence in the name of a scribe, preceded by Il. Cf. Westenholz *OSP* 1 (1975), 107 for è-a = ?é-a.

IAS, 112. On the basis of the line division in *Cyl*, MU might here be understood as a professional qualification of the individual previously named, i.e. muḥaldim (cf. *MSL* 12, 17:13; G. Pettinato, *OrAnt* 15 [1976], 173:13 for Presargonic occurrences).

Cyl III, 3 = *IAS*, 132. The contents of this line might represent a toponym formed by a professional qualification (cf. *ad* 1. 179, below): for the latter, cf. in ED Lu E *OrAnt* 15 (1976), 172:9 and note 12, with specification of reading order. The last sign in the *IAS* sequence is given *ibid.*, p. 112; cf. also p. 70-71 for discussion and parallels. In *Cyl*, the corresponding sign appears to be KWU 509 (in the same variant shape as Reisner, TUT, 301:2, quoted *ibid.*), now called za_x by Pettinato *MEE* 2 (Napoli 1980), 31 (sa.za_x was an important part of the Ebla city-state), or urum_x by Krecher, *ZA* 63 (1973), 240. [Cf. *OrAnt* 19 (1980), 263f.].

Cyl III, 4 = *IAS*, 133. This correspondence between the two texts presents an AN.GIG complex in the more recent version, for which relevant interpretative solutions are wanting: a corruption in the process of textual transmission might have to be posited. For names from Abū Šālābikh built with the element me-ru, cf. *IAS*, 71 with references.

Cyl III, 5 = *IAS*, 134. The order of the signs in all versions of *IAS* is /bil^{bil}_{an du₁₀}/; in ms. C, the PA.KAŠ₄ that follows is comprised within the same frame as the name. To be noticed is the additional vowel inserted in *Cyl* through the use of the complex á-nu: cf. a-za = az in V, 5 = 182, and še-ri = šir, *RA* 60, 9: 11; mun^{ma-na}, *OrAnt* 17, p. 172: 136; zi-zi-ru_x = []-zú-ur₄, *OrNS* 47 (1978), 64:13; sa-la-ba-an = šà-la-ba₄-nu, *ibid.*, 16. On the other hand, for á-nu in logographic use in Presargonic personal names, cf. e.g. the X-á-nu-kuš type onomastics, recently dealt with by F. Pomponio, *OrAnt* 17 (1978), 249, *ad* II, 7. For the exchange of bil and bíl, cf. Å. Sjöberg, *HSAO*, 214 sub c).

Cyl III, 6 = *IAS*, 135. For PA.AL = šab/pra in ED Lu E, cf. *OrAnt* 15 (1976), 172:4, noticing that the *IAS* version has []-PA here. On the other hand, cf. *IAS* 54, 123 (= *MSL* 12, 18) for PA.[K]AŠ₄; also *IAS* 60, 150. PA.KAŠ₄ occurs again in l. 260 of the "Names and professions list". For the correspondence with *Cyl*, it may be suggested that the e-gi attested only in the *IAS* list was a gloss to PA.KAŠ₄: among numerous cases of glosses in texts from Abū Šālābikh, cf. e.g. *OrAnt* 17 (1976), 170:33. However, explanations of e-gi in itself and of its

possible function for the equation PA.AL = PA.KAŠ₄ are at the moment wanting⁶).

IAS, 137. Perhaps ù-gal-gal of *IAS* should be set in some relation with the toponym attested as ḥul-gal-gal/gal-ga-al^{ki} at Ebla and Abū Šālābikh: cf. *OrNS* 47 (1978), 58:X, 1; 69, 208, noticing that a collation of the *IAS* evidence (previously read ù(?) gal gal^{ki}, *IAS* 77: fragm. S, 3) is involved. The *Cyl* parallel line shows traces which do not allow a clear-cut decision between ḥul and ù. Notice also gal-gal-ù in l. 242 of the "Names and professions list", preceded by ganun: cf. *ad* V, 4, below.

Cyl IV, 1 = *IAS*, 155. For ašgab in ED Lu E, cf. Pettinato, *OrAnt* 15 (1976), 173: 22; and *id.*, *Rend. Pont. Accad. Rom. d. Archaeol.* 48 (1975-76), 52 for the bilingual equation ašgab = āš-ga-bù in a vocabulary from Ebla.

Cyl IV, 2-3 = *IAS*, 156. Biggs' reconstruction of the line as amar-an-si lú-kuš is totally plausible: cf. names in *IAS* built with the -an-si compound such as bíl-an-si (l. 184 of the same list) and ur-an-si (*IAS*, 35). On the other hand, notice amar-an ad-KID/kup₄ in l. 173 of the same list; also, that the majority (all but one) of the ED Lu E versions give lú-kuš-si as the professional name (Pettinato, *op. cit.*, 173:23; cf. also *MSL* 12, 17:23); finally, that *Cyl* clearly separates amar-an from the following box, bearing lú:kuš:a:si.

Cyl IV, 4 = *IAS*, 157. The correspondence i-na-SAR = SIG-na-SAR is rather problematical. The nearest the authors can come to a "harmonization" of the two versions is by positing a verbal-sentence name with SAR = mú. In this case the Abū Šālābikh SIG (= se₁₁) would be an orthographical writing of the verbal prefix šè (cf. B. Alster, *JCS* 28 (1976), 116, for SIG = si_x). For Presargonic šè = later i-, cf. *IAS*, 60, 61: Instr. Šur. 181 (Presarg. šè-du₇ = OB šu im-du₇-du₇), 216 (Presarg. šè-LAGAB-LAGAB = OB im-su-su-su).

IAS, 159. Biggs describes LAK 586 (p. 71) as a sign which "probably represents a vessel with SIG₇ written inside it". In *Cyl IV*, 6, instead, the sign presents the normal shape of ŠEM. In both versions, the line is preceded and followed by professional qualifications (cf., resp. *MSL* 12, 17: 48 and 49).

Cyl V, 1-2 = *IAS*, 178-179. Comparing the Ur III attestation with the *IAS* manuscripts, an arrangement of the latter bearing ¹⁷⁸im-[mar]/¹⁷⁹é bur-gul might be proposed, since of three manuscripts (B,O,R), B has /^{im}_é bur-gul/, R has [mar and]-gul on two different lines, and only O presents the sequence /^{im}_é gul/. *Cyl* thus seems to agree with B for general order, but with R in line-arrangement. The second element is plausibly a toponym: cf. the place name 'à-bur-gul^{ki} at Ebla and Abū Šālābikh (*OrNS* 47 [1978], 56: IV, 17; 66:86).

⁶) Cf. e-gi₄ maškim, a recently published variant to the *IAS* professional qualification, attested in an Ebla administrative list (G. Pettinato, *OrAnt*, 18 [1979], 143: Rev. XI, 8), which may be added in the light of the suggestion made above. Could a maš_x value be possibly attributed to E in this particular context?

Cyl V, 3 = *IAS*, 180. This is the only case in which *Cyl* allows restoration of a broken sign ([g]iš = [s]ag¹) in the relatively well-preserved list of *IAS*. For the last sign, *Cyl* has clearly ĤÜB; on the other hand, the photograph of the single *IAS* ms. presenting this line (=B) does not allow to decide between the TUK suggested by Biggs and TUG_x(=ĤÜB). Cf. the personal name sag-an-tug_x in Fara III, *27a:12; for the interchange of the two signs, cf. M. Lambert, *Sumer* 9 (1953), 212⁷⁰; *MSL* 12, 20, note to l. 95.

Cyl V, 4 = *IAS*, 181. ganun is not infrequent in the *IAS* list (cf. lines 240, 242, 268), either as a formative element of toponyms, or—more likely—as a professional qualification (cf. ED Lu E, 183: lú ganun). To be noticed is the use in *Cyl* of KWU 871 for the second sign of *IAS* (LAGAB×U!).

Cyl V, 5 = *IAS*, 182. Cf. above, *ad III*, 5. The name in *IAS* occurs also in l. 233 of the same list: notice also the AZ:ZA_x(=LAK 798):KA×ŠU attested in l. 36. A toponym a-za-bù^{ki} is attested, with variants, in the geographical Fara-Abū Šālābikh-Ebla list (cf. *OrNS* 47, 58: R. I, 13; 71, 73 *ad l.* 266).

Colophon. For parallels to colophons of the ^dnisaba-type, cf. e.g. *ZA* 29 (1914), 79; *ITT* I 1267 (Pl. 15); (compare ^dnisaba zà-mí in *MSL* 2, 92¹; *MSL* 13, 55); for the epithets, e.g. A.T. Clay, *BRM* IV, pl. 45:46, 1'-3'. For im-gíd da, see Hunger, *Kolophone*, 25ff. The last four lines are slightly problematical, and open to more than one interpretation.

Nov. 1979

THE CUNEIFORM TEXTS OF THE BIJBELS MUSEUM, AMSTERDAM

GEERD HAAYER — GRONINGEN

A small collection of Ur-III tablets is in the possession of the Bijbels Museum (Bible Museum) at Amsterdam. The texts were acquired for the museum by the late Prof. F. M. Th. de Liagre Böhl. De Liagre Böhl bought the tablets from the French dealer in antiquities Gėjou in Paris in 1939¹). With the kind permission of Rev. Tj. Bijlsma and Mr. P. de Roos I publish the collection here.

All texts deal with economic activities during the Third Dynasty of Ur and are from the Drehem Archive. The texts are given in transliteration only.

*Catalogue**

- no. 1 Meas. 2,7 × 2,5 × 1,3 cm; mu-DU; 11/IX/AS 4.
Because of the almost completely effaced second line the object of the delivery remains obscure; the first sign is most likely a NU. For the reading of the much disputed mu-DU see the recent proposal by P. Steinkeller, *OrNS* 48 (1979) 66-67; see also below no. 3 l. 5.
- no. 2 Maes. 3,1 × 2,8 × 1,5 cm; i-da b₅; 14/IX/AS 5.
Receipt of 4 oxen by Ur-tur from Ab-ba-ša₆-ga.
- no. 3 Meas. 4,1 × 3,7 × 1,7 cm; ba-zi; 28/VI/ŠŠ 4.
Expenditure of 1 lamb and 1 young male gazelle from In-ta-è-a. For the reading of mu-DU-ra-ta see the above mentioned study of Steinkeller. The problem of the right order of the months in the Drehem Calendar during the reign of Šu-Sin has recently been studied by Robert M. Whiting, *ZA* 69 (1979) 6-33.
- no. 4 Meas. 2,5 × 2,2 × 1,3 cm; šu ba-ti; 10/IV/AS 6.
Receipt of 3 dead sheep and 1 fat-tailed sheep by ^dŠul-gi-uru-mu from Na-lu₅. The activities of the official Na-lu₅ have been extensively studied by M. H. Mahoney, *A Study in Sumerian Administrative History of the*

*) Abbreviated names of the kings of Ur: AS = Amar-Suen; Š = Šulgi; ŠŠ = Šū-Suen.

¹) In *JEOL* 6 (1939), 264 and *JEOL* 7 (1940), 545-546, F. M. Th. de Liagre Böhl mentions the purchase of 20 tablets, however nowadays only 15 are left. See also Jac. van Dijk, *Egyptian Antiquities in the Bijbels Museum, Amsterdam I*, *Göttinger Miszellen* 36 (1980; forthcoming) for a possible explanation of their disappearance.

Third Ur Dynasty (diss. University of Minnesota 1965; University Microfilms, Ann Arbor 67-8074).

- no. 5 Meas. 4,2 × 3,6 × 1,5 cm; ba-zi; 28/XI/AS 9.
Expenditure of 1 fattened sheep from Na-lu₅.
- no. 6 Meas. 2,9 × 2,6 × 1,2 cm; i-dab₅; 2/III/AS 5.
Receipt of 3 fattened sheep by A-*hu-ni* from Ab-ba-ša₆-ga.
- no. 7 Meas. 2,2 × 2,1 × 1,1 cm; šu ba-ti; 23/V/Š 47.
Receipt of 1 dead suckling ewe-lamb by Ur-nigìn-gar from En-dingir-mu.
- no. 8 Meas. 2,8 × 2,5 × 1,4 cm; i-dab₅; 21/IX/AS 1.
Receipt of 12 suckling lambs, 9 suckling ewe-lambs and 6 goats, new born.
The receiving official is Lú-dingir-ra.
- no. 9 Meas. 2,4 × 2,3 × 1,3 cm; šu ba-ti; 26/XII/AS 2 or Š 45; both the dates are equally possible, since both Ur-nigìn-gar and Na-lu₅ were officials at that time, see T. B. Jones & J. W. Snyder, *Sumerian Economic Texts from the Third Ur Dynasty* (1961), 224 fig. 4.
Receipt of 2 dead sheep by Ur-nigìn-gar from Na-lu₅.
- no. 10 Meas. 3,2 × 2,7 × 1,6 cm; zi-ga; 15/X/Š 47.
Expenditure of 10 oxen. The zi-ga type belongs exclusively to the reign of Šulgi, see T. B. Jones & J. W. Snyder, *op. cit.*, 203ff. This text and also no. 13 belong to the so-called Early Drehem Series.
- no. 11 Meas. 3,1 × 2,8 × 1,5 cm; i-dab₅; 30/IV/AS 5.
Receipt of 5 fattened sheep by ^dŠul-gi-a-a-mu from Ab-ba-ša₆-ga.
- no. 12 Meas. 3,5 × 3,1 × 1,5 cm; i-dab₅; Ø/V/AS 5.
Receipt of 10 oxen by Du-du from Ab-ba-ša₆-ga.
- no. 13 Meas. 2,8 × 2,4 × 1,3 cm; zi-ga; Ø/XI/Š 38; see also no. 10.
Expenditure of 1 fattened sheep. See T. B. Jones & J. W. Snyder, *op. cit.*, 204ff. for the official A₂-pi₅-lí-a.
- no. 14 Meas. 3,0 × 2,6 × 1,4 cm; i-dab₅; 24/V/AS 1.
Receipt of 1 sheep by Lú-dingir-ra from Na-ša₆. For the udu-lú-uru-um see A. L. Oppenheim, *Eames Collection*, 4, fn. 9. The expression giš-du-(a)/giš-du-(a) is recently discussed by K. Maekawa, *Zinbun* 15 (1979), 109 plus fn. 45 and 46.
- no. 15 Meas. 4,3 × 3,5 × 1,7 cm; šu ba-ti; Ø/VIII/AS 2.
Receipt of wool. The official, whose name is partly broken away in line 6, is very probably ^dŠul-gi-mi-šar, see T. B. Jones & J. W. Snyder, *op. cit.*, 242. See further H. Waetzoldt, *Untersuchungen zur Neusumerischen Textilindustrie* (1972), for the different kinds and qualities of wool.

Texts in transliteration

- no. 1
0. 1 mu-DU
[n]u²- []
u₄-11-kam
iti ezen-maḥ
- R. 5 ^amu en-maḥ-
gal-an-na
en ^dNanna ba-ḥun
- no. 2
0. 1 4 gu₄
u₄-14-kam
ki Ab-ba-ša₆-ga-/ta
Ur-tur i-dab₅
- R. 5 iti ezen-maḥ
mu en unu₆-gal
^dInanna ba-ḥun
- no. 3
0. 1 1 sila₄
1 amar-mašda-nitá
^dEn-líl
lugal-ku₄-ra
5 šà mu-DU-ra-ta
u₄-28-kam
- R. ki In-ta-è-/-a-ta
ba-zi
gír Nu-úr-^dEN.ZU
dub-sar
10 iti ezen-^dNin-a-zu
mu-ús-sa Si-ma-/
nám^{ki} ba-ḥul
E. 1 udu 1 mašda
- n. 4
0. 1 3 udu
1 gukkal
ba-ug₇
u₄-10-kam
ki Na-lu₅-/ta
- R. ^dSul-gi-uru-/mu
šu ba-ti
iti ki-sig-^dNin-/a-zu
mu Ša-aš-ru/^{ki}
ba-ḥul
- 5 10
- no. 5
0. 1 1 udu-niga-sig₅-ús
sá-du₁₁ mu-[]
^dSul-gi-uru-
mu maškim
- R. 5 iti u₄-28-ba-/zal
ki Na-lu₅-ta
ba-zi
šà Nibru^{ki}
iti ezen-Me-ki-gál
mu en ^dNanna-kar-
zi-da ba-ḥun

- no. 6
0. 1 3 udu-niga
u₄-2-kam
[k]i Ab-ba-ša₆-ga-/ta
A-*hu-ni*
- R. 5 i-dab
iti u₅-bí-kú
mu en unu₆-/gal
dInanna-Unu^{ki}/ba-*hun*
- E. 3
- no. 7
0. 1 1 kir₁₁-ga
ba-ug₇
u₄-23-kam
ša Tum-ma-/al
- R. 5 ki En-dingir-/mu-[t]a
Ur-nigin-gar
šu ba-ti
iti ezen-dNin-a-/zu
mu-ús-sa Ki-maš^{ki}
ba-*hul*
- no. 8
0. 1 12 sila₄-ga
10 lá 1 kir₁₁-ga
6 máš-ga
ù-tu-da
5 u₄-21-kam
- R. šà Na-kab-tum-/ma
Lú-dingir-ra
i-dab₅
iti ezen-mah
10 mu dAmar-dEN/ZU
lugal
- E. 27
- no. 9
0. 1 2 udu
ba-ug₇
u₄-26-kam
ki [N]a-lu₅-/ta
- R. 5 Ur-nigin-gar
šu ba-ti
iti še-gur₁₀-ku₅
mu Ur-bí-[lu]m^{ki}
ba-*hul*
- no. 10
0. 1 5 gu₄-[nig]a-s[a]g-gu₄
5 gu₄-[ni]ga
kaš-dé-a dInanna
iti u₄-15-ba-zal
5 zi-ga
- R. ki Lú-dingir-ra
N[a-kab-tu]m-ma
iti ezen-An-na
mu-ús-sa Ki-maš^{ki}
ba-*hul*

- no. 11
0. 1 5 udu-niga
u₄-30-kam
ki Ab-ba-ša₆-/ga
-ta
dŠul-gi-a-a-/mu
i-dab₅
- R. 5 iti ki-sig-dNin-a-zu
mu en unu₆-gal-
dInanna ba-*hun*
- E. 5
- no. 12
0. 1 7 gu₄
3 áb
ki Ab-ba-ša₆-/ga
-ta
Du-du šabra
dNa-na-a i-dab₅
- R. iti ezen-dNin-a-zu
mu en-dInanna
- E. 10 gu₄
- no. 13
0. 1 1 udu-niga
ír-rin-na
é-dAl-la-gu-/la
zi-ga
5 A₂-pi₅-li-a
- R. šà Nibru^{ki}
iti ezen-Me-ki-/gál
mu-ús-sa
bád ma-da ba-
dù
- no. 14
0. 1 1 udu-lú-uru-
um giš-dù-niga
u₄-24-kam
ki Na-ša₆-
ta
- R. Lú-dingir-ra
šabra i-/dab₅
5 iti ezen-dNin-a-zu
mu dAmar-dEN/
ZU lugal
- E. 1

no. 15

0. 1 16 ma-na sig-udu
 3-kam-ús
 1 gú l ma-na sig-gi
 134 gú 50
 1/3 ma-na sig-[]-AK?
 na₄ l gú l 2/3 ma-na-ta
 5 sig-é-udu Na-kab-tum-ma

R. [m]i-
 šar
 ki Lú-dingir-ra dumu
 Inim^dSara-ta
 mu-DU
 Nu-úr^[d]EN.ZU
 R. 10 šu ba-ti
 iti šu-eš₅-ša
 mu^dAmar^dEN.ZU lugal-
 e Ur-bí-lum^{ki}
 mu-ḫul

December 1979

IDUMAEA .

The word "Idumaea" is linguistically nothing more than a Graecized form of the far more widely known "Edom". The form Idumaea arose by analogy with numerous Greek geographical names ending in -aia, possibly via the Aramaic nisba from ^adomaj, ^adomajin "Edom" was the name of a state, a people and a region in the southern part of the Transjordanian plateau. It is generally assumed that the name ^edōm is connected with ^edōm "red" and ^adāmā "red earth", i.e. *terra rossa*, an extremely fertile weathering product of the Mediterranean limestone formations. Such a name testifies to the viewpoint of the agriculturalist.

It is often difficult to ascertain what is meant by "Edom", whether it is the land, the people or the state. Here the same problem arises as with for example the name Israel, as has been described by Hulst¹⁾. Weippert, in his dissertation, considers it most likely that the geographical meaning was primary, just as with "Seir" that was later often used in parallel with "Edom"²⁾. This "Edom" we know from the time of Sethos I until Nabonidus. According to Josephus (*Ant.* X,181), in the 23rd year of his reign Nebuchadnezzar undertook an expedition to Syria and then marched against Egypt via Coelesyria. On this occasion Ammon and Moab are said to have been conquered so this would have been in 581. This account of Josephus is not improbable, and also explains how during the events of 586 many Judaeans were able to take refuge in Ammon, Moab and Edom (Jer. 40:11). Although one gets the impression from this report that Nebuchadnezzar marched on Egypt via the King's Highway, it seems nevertheless that Edom was still given respite for some time. There are strong indications that the end of Edom did not occur until the rule of Nabonidus. This is testified by the well-known ostrakon 6043 from Tell el-Kheleifeh that suggests that the Edomite governmental system was still intact in the middle of the 6th century. Recently J. Lindsay has shown it to be probable that in column I:17 of the Nabonidus Chronicle there is no mention of a city "[.....]dummu", but of a city ".....in A]dummu". This would mean that Nabonidus conquered Edom in the 3rd year of his reign, i.e. in 553 B.C.³⁾. After these troubled times we hear

¹⁾ A. R. Hulst, *Wat betekent de naam Israël in het Oude Testament?* (Den Haag 1962).

²⁾ M. Weippert, *Edom. Studien und Materialien zur Geschichte der Edomiter auf Grund schriftlicher und archäologischer Quellen* (Diss. Tübingen 1971), 389-394.

³⁾ J. Lindsay, 'The Babylonian Kings and Edom', *PEQ* 108 (1976), 23-39. [The reading actually should be [Ú]-du-um-mu, 'Edom', as already proposed by W. G. Lambert in his article 'Nabonidus in Arabia' (*Proc. 5th Seminar for Arabian Studies*, London 1972, 55), and adopted by A. K. Grayson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles* (TCS 5, 1975), 282b ad 105, I:17: Adummmu, 'Edom', is not

nothing more of the region that was previously Edom. There is a final reference in the apocryphal I Esdras 4:50, where there is mention of an order of Darius I decreeing that the Edomites should evacuate Judaeen villages⁴). For a long time it has been taken as an established fact that after 553 (or even after 581) B.C. the region of the former Edom remained outside the system of division of land into provinces under the Babylonians and Persians. In his comments on Arabia Herodotus says repeatedly (Book III, 88, 97, 107) that Arabia was not a province, nor was it considered as belonging to any province, and that the Arabians paid no taxes. The Persians tried to win the allegiance of the desert tribes by means of treaties, but otherwise they left them undisturbed.

As an argument against this traditional view mention should be made here of the discovery of sherds clearly dating from Persian times by Mrs. Crystal Bennett during her excavations in Buseirah. It is even possible that a late Assyrian administrative building had a successor in the Persian period⁵). Some years previously Winnett and Reed had drawn attention to the North-Arabic inscription JS 349⁶):

NRN BN ḤDRW T(Q)Ṭ B'YM GŠM BN ŠHR W'BD FḤT DDN BR'[Y]

"Nīrān b. Ḥāḍīru inscribed his name in the time of Gašmu b. Šāhru and 'Abdu the governor of Dedan, in the reign of ..."

Unfortunately the actual dating is lacking and the Gašmu mentioned cannot be automatically identified as Gašmu, King of Kedar, of whom more will be said later. The name Gšm was fairly common. On the other hand the title "fḥt dedan" was clearly borrowed from Persian administrative terminology. This could be strong evidence for the existence of a form of Persian rule in Dedan. Even if the inscription itself were much younger, this terminology would indicate the perpetuation of an older terminology. If the Persians did indeed have a governor in Dedan then it would be most unlikely that they did not have one in Edom. For this means that everywhere, even in isolated regions, the Persians tried to subjugate the sedentary population and that they wanted to control the increasingly more

attested — K. R. V.J. An ostrakon of the sixth century from Tell Heshbān in Jordan suggests that the same goes for Ammon. Heshbon ostrakon IV contains an inventory of goods for a royal household, most probably that of the local Ammonite king. The ostrakon is dated by F. M. Cross to ca. 580 B.C. It is also noteworthy that this ostrakon lists goods that came up from Elath. F. M. Cross, 'Ammonite ostraca from Heshbon', *Andrews Univ. Sem. Studies* 13 (1975), 1-18; L. T. Geraty and R. S. Boraas, 'The Long Life of Tell Heshbān, Jordan', *Archaeology* 33 (1979), 10-20.

⁴) J. M. Myers, 'Edom and Judah in the Sixth-Fifth Centuries B.C.', in: *Near Eastern Studies in Honor of W.F. Albright* (Baltimore 1971), 377-392. P. Kyle McCarter, 'Obadiah 7 and the Fall of Edom', *BASOR* 221 (1976), 87-92. We find the same account in Josephus (Ant. XI 61).

⁵) C. M. Bennett, 'Excavations at Buseirah, southern Jordan', *Levant* 9 (1977), 9.

⁶) F. V. Winnett and W. L. Reed, *Ancient Records from North Arabia* (Toronto 1970), 115-117. Cf. also J. R. Bartlett, 'From Edomites to Nabataeans: A Study in Continuity', *PEQ* 111 (1979), 58-59.

important trade route via Northwest Arabia and Edom. In this way the flourishing of Tell el-Kheleifeh V (6th-5th centuries) should be explained⁷).

For the rest, in the sixth century a veil falls over the region of Edom, that is not completely lifted until the heyday of the Nabataeans in the first century B.C. In Seleucid times the region was known as Gabalitis, under the Hasmonaeans and later as Arabia or Nabataean Arabia.

Now it is remarkable that at about the same time as when the old Edom is no longer mentioned, Idumaea is mentioned for the first time in the sources, and we have already seen that "Idumaea" is nothing more than Edom in Greek. In the LXX the names Ἐδωμ and Ἰδουμαία are sometimes used promiscuously. Accordingly in III Kings 11:14ff. Ἐδωμ and Ἰδουμαία occur alongside each other. The account in II Kings 8:14ff. of the battle in the Salt Valley uses only Ἰδουμαία. The story of Joram's expedition in IV Kings 3 uses exclusively Ἐδωμ, while IV Kings 14:7, which is concerned with Amaziah's expedition, uses Ἐδωμ, also in connection with the Salt Valley. III Kings 9:26 refers to Edom, the parallel place in II Chron. 8:17 has Idumaia. Cf. also Ἰδουμαία in the well-known prophecies against Gaza and Tyre in Amos 1. Josephus knew that Seir, the land of Esau, was formerly called Ἄδομ (alluding to the red lentil soup that Esau ate), but: "the Greeks gave it a more pleasant pronunciation: Idumaea". Josephus thus uses this name both for the old Edom and for the later province of Idumaea. It is of course convenient to reserve the Greek form for the province in Southern Palestine, but it is remarkable nevertheless that from the Persian period onwards a second "Edom" crops up. Before going into the possible explanation for this phenomenon I will first try to give a brief sketch of what is known about the history of this western Edom.

It is still a debatable question whether Judah was itself an independent Persian province before the time of Nehemiah, or whether it was initially subordinate to Samaria, as was proposed by Alt already before the war⁸). In the recently published book *Israelite and Judaeen History*⁹) B. Oded leaves the question open owing to lack of information, though he gives ample consideration to the theory of Alt (p. 477). In the succeeding chapter G. Widengren defends the former existence of a separate Persian province *J^ehud* from the time of the governmental reorganization of Darius I (502/3 B.C.) onwards. A steadily growing body of information of extra-biblical origin seems to show in my opinion that Widengren *et al.* are indeed right. Recently Avigad has found on clay bullae the names of three governors of *J^ehud* that were hitherto unknown, between Zerubbabel and

⁷) Z. Meshel, *EI* 12 (1975), 49-56.

⁸) A. Alt, 'Die Rolle Samarias bei der Entstehung des Judentums' (1934) = *Kleine Schriften* Bd. 2, 316-337.

⁹) Edited by J. H. Hayes and J. Maxwell Miller (London 1977).

Nehemiah¹⁰). H. Tadmor also mentions *Jehud* emphatically as a province. That Zerubbabel is called *phh* is definitely correct¹¹). This Persian Judah was nevertheless considerably smaller in extent than the earlier independent state of Judah of before 597 B.C.¹²). The province of *Jehud* consisted of six districts: Jerusalem, Mizpah, Jericho, Beth-Hakkerem, Beth-Zur and Keilah. Where the southern border lay cannot be described in detail, but roughly speaking it ran from a point slightly north of En-Gedi on the Dead Sea via a more or less straight line to the west. It continued from Beth-Zur, well north of Hebron, and just to the west of Keilah, near Elam, it curved to the north roughly skirting the foot of the hill-country of Judah. The border continued from Elam westwards past Azekah and then to Emmaus on the eastern edge of the plain of Ajalon. Judah was thus restricted to the actual Judaeon mountainous region, with the southern half of Benjamin and Jericho, but exclusive of Hebron that lay just outside. If we compare this Judah with that of king Josiah then it is conspicuous that not only Hebron but also the whole of the Negev and the Shephelah, with towns such as Beersheba, Marissa, Lachish and Gezer, lay outside.

It is generally assumed that the southern districts had been lost already in 597 B.C. to the advancing Edomites—or that they had been handed over by Nebuchadnezzar to the Edomites in gratitude for help in the struggle against Judah, and that this situation remained unchanged under the Persians. The region around Gezer was then added to Ashdod, which acquired a large stretch of the coast at the same time, except Ashkelon, that was given to Tyre, and Gaza that became a kind of Persian crown colony. The latter case is connected with the fact that the *Wadi Ghazze* was considered the southern border of the Vth Satrapy. What happened, though, with the Negev and the southern Shephelah? Here most authors let us down. Usually it suffices them to mention that in Persian times this region was known as Idumaea. But was it an independent self-governing district? Avi-Yonah¹³) does indeed suggest such a province of Idumaea, without any further argumentation. Aharoni's formulation is such that the question can be answered both ways¹⁴).

To illustrate the obscurity prevailing in this matter I only refer to one author whose habit it is to state his views unambiguously: K. Galling. In his *Studien zur Geschichte Israels im persischen Zeitalter*¹⁵) he assumes that in the time of Nehemiah there was indeed a province called Idumaea, referring to an article of

¹⁰) N. Avigad, *Bullae and Seals from a Post-Exilic Judean Archive* (Qedem IV, Jerusalem 1976).

¹¹) *A History of the Jewish People*, ed. by H. H. Ben-Sasson (London 1976), 168, 179.

¹²) A. Alt, 'Judas Gaue unter Josia' (1925) = *Kleine Schriften* Bd. 2, 276-288.

¹³) M. Avi-Yonah, *The Holy Land* (Grand Rapids 1966), 25-26.

¹⁴) Y. Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible. A Historical Geography* (London 1967), 360-361.

¹⁵) (Tübingen 1964) 47.

his published in 1938 in which he says exactly the opposite¹⁶). Galling's view of 1964 was possibly influenced by that of Martin Noth, for Noth assumed that in the early New-Babylonian period a Great Edom existed with Lachish as capital city¹⁷). Noth acknowledges that all texts are silent on such a Great Edom. But he takes the line that in the years after 600 B.C. the Edomites gave such important support to the Babylonians that Nebuchadnezzar granted them the Negev and a large part of the Shephelah. When in 582 B.C. the old tribal land was finally lost, only the western Edom remained. This situation is supposed to have remained unchanged under the Persians. Noth's most important arguments are:

1). The well-known view that the vindictiveness against Edom in the Edom-prophecies in Ezekiel, Joel, Obadiah and Malachi must be connected especially with the events of 597 and 586 B.C. Edom betrayed Judah and profited from its fall. But Ackroyd¹⁸) points out that in the Exile Edom comes to represent the enemy people par excellence. The hostility against Edom is so much older a motif that it cannot be connected exclusively with the events of 597 B.C. Myers too is rather critical about this help given by the Edomites to the Babylonians, and he, moreover, points out that in the 4th year of the reign of Zedekiah Jerusalem and Edom were again in league against the Babylonians (Jer. 27). So the hatred could not have been that deep, nor the gratitude of Edom!

2). The northwestern Negev and especially Lachish provide a fair amount of archaeological evidence of the presence of the Persians. The famous "Persian palace" in Lachish must be associated in some way or other with a Persian administrative district. This Persian palace played an important role for many older scholars, but subsequent research in Lachish has shown that the building was probably rather a kind of villa, dating from Assyrian times (7th century B.C.)¹⁹). I cannot agree with Prof. D. Ussishkin who would like to date the first phase of the "Residency" again to Post-Exilic times (Level I). In the first place because this would mean that the most conspicuous and dominating area of the town, the platform, would not have been used and left with the ruins of Palace C during Level II. And Level II lasted at least half a century! Secondly, all remnants and sherds found under the Residency are from Level III. Thirdly, the fact remains that the plan of the first Residency belongs to the Syro-Hittite style of building, which fits much better with a Pre-Exilic date. Therefore I think that Aharoni's arguments are still convincing²⁰).

3). The third argument is derived from Diodorus of Sicily. In his account of

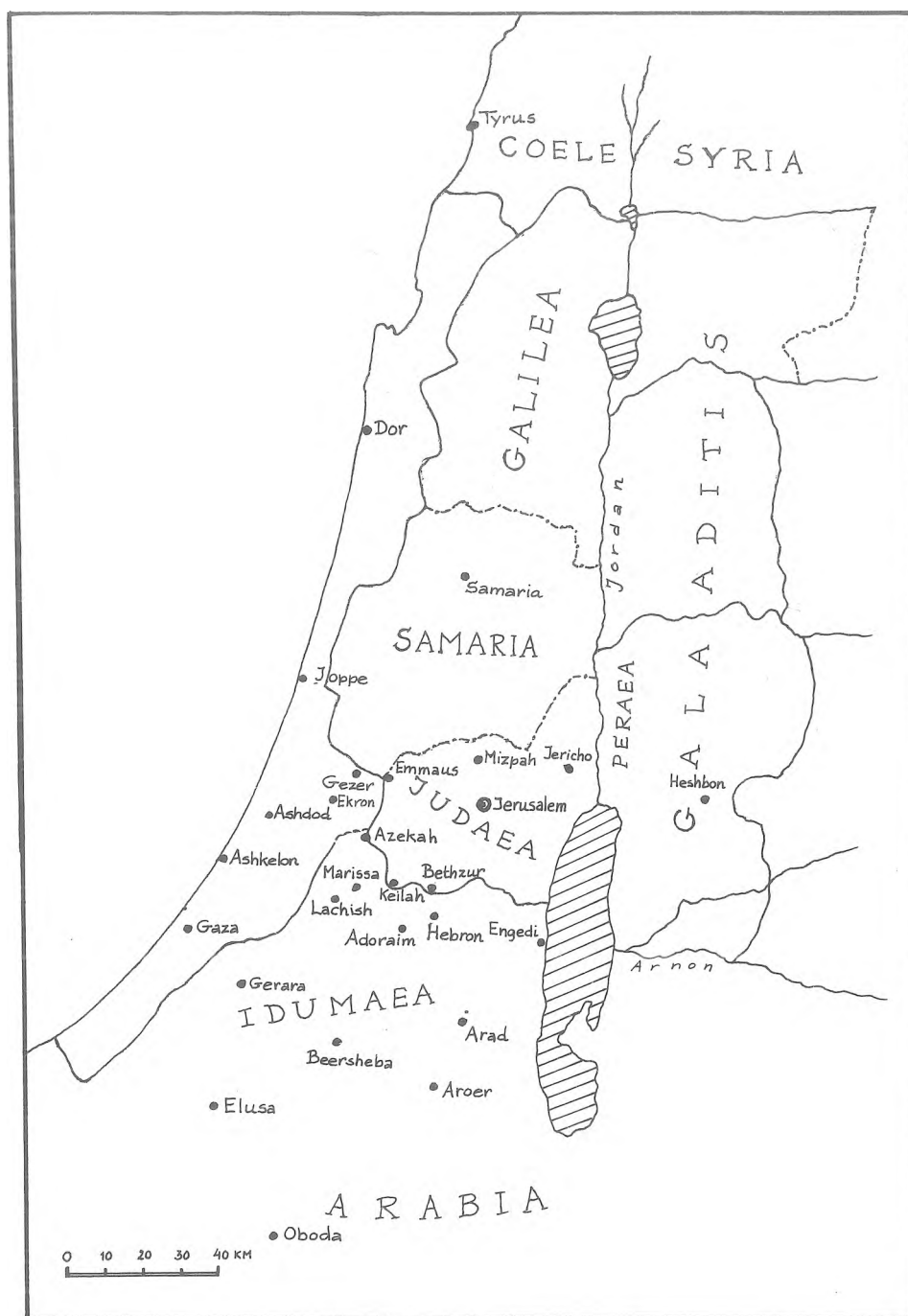
¹⁶) K. Galling, 'Denkmäler zur Geschichte Syriens und Palästinas unter der Herrschaft der Perzer', *Palästina-Jahrbuch* 34 (1938), 59-79.

¹⁷) M. Noth, *Geschichte Israels* (Göttingen 1956³), 311.

¹⁸) P. R. Ackroyd, *Exile and Restoration* (London 1968), 224.

¹⁹) Y. Aharoni, *Lachish V* (Tel Aviv 1975), 33.

²⁰) D. Ussishkin, *Tel Aviv* 4 (1977), 28-60, and *Tel Aviv* 5 (1978), 1-97.



Palestine during the last centuries before the Christian era.

the military action of Antigonos Monophthalmos in 312 B.C. against the Nabataeans, reference is made to the "asphalt sea that lies in the middle of Idumaea"²¹). Diodorus wrote in the 1st century B.C., but his source was Hieronymus of Cardia, the author of a history of the Diadochi. This Hieronymus had been supervisor in procuring asphalt from the Dead Sea and is supposed to have partaken in the campaign itself. This may well be correct, but it remains a fact that Diodorus mentions the Asphalt Sea more frequently and then places it in or on the border of Arabia. According to Avi-Yonah, "in the middle of" must mean here: with respect to Idumaea's northern and southern border. In the time of Antigonos the far side of the Arabah was known as Arabia and was not (any longer) called Idumaea.

4). Finally there follows a typical argumentation of Noth: we know that a province Idumaea, i.e. Edom, existed in the 3rd century B.C. Considering that the old Edom was then no longer in existence, and had not been for a long time, there was no reason whatsoever to call a new province "Idumaea". The name must therefore go back to an earlier situation and that is the previously mentioned Great Edom of Babylonian times. The western half of Great Edom remained in existence during the Persian period, and must in some way or other have been incorporated in the organization of the Persian empire. This fourth argument, that includes besides an explanation for the phenomenon of the western Edom, I shall have to come back to later.

It seems to me unlikely that during or before the time of Nehemiah there existed a Persian administrative district Idumaea. Apart from the fact that I do not consider the arguments in favour of this convincing, I would point out that there is no mention of such an early Idumaea in either Ezra or Zechariah. And here it should be remembered that Nehemiah was intensely involved with his neighbours. I therefore find very attractive the claim made by Alt and Galling (in 1938)²²), that in Neh. 4:1-3 and 6:1 Nehemiah's enemies are listed in geographical order: Sanballat to the north, Tobiah and the Ammonites to the east, Geshem the Arabian to the south and the Ashdodites to the west. The opposition to the building of the wall was led mainly by Sanballat and Tobiah, who were in authority over "alternative Jewish regions" with minorities strongly oriented towards Jerusalem. For that matter a Persian Lachish of some importance never existed; the village mentioned in Neh. 11:30 would have been a small settlement. It is indeed interesting that the high-place outside Lachish remained in use for Jewish worship, just as the famous solar shrine did in the 3rd century B.C. This is a clear indication that an attempt was made to offer an alternative to Jerusalem.

²¹) *Bibl. Hist.* XIX 98, 1.

²²) A. Alt, 'Judas Nachbarn zur Zeit Nehemias' (1931) = *Kleine Schriften* Bd. 2, 338-345.

This settlement came to an end in the 2nd century B.C.²³). It is interesting to point out that despite all political opposition between Jerusalem, Samaria and perhaps Idumaea, there are hardly any differences in material culture in these regions. This shows there were still close contacts²⁴).

From the list given in Neh. 11:25-30 it is evident that there were still large numbers of Jews living to the south and to the west of the borders of the province of Judah. This southern part must be represented by Geshem. His being an "Arabian" must be seen primarily as a socio-juridical comment. We have already seen that Herodotus mentions that Darius I deliberately excluded the Arabians from the governmental system. By giving them the necessary freedom and granting them immunity from taxation, the Persians tried to maintain as good relations as possible with the inhabitants of the regions that lay outside the οἰκουμένη of that time. Moreover the fact that Geshem is called Arabian implies to my mind that the region later called Idumaea did not yet exist then as a Persian province. It is not admissible to call him "governor". In this case a kind of client-kingship is more plausible, such as Mazar also assumes for the Tobiads²⁵). Recently Lemaire has drawn attention to an inscription on an incense-altar from Lachish dating from the 5th century B.C., where there is mention of a "Iyaš ben Maḥlai, the king"²⁶). This Geshem has besides come to stand in the light of history thanks to the find of some silver votive dishes in Tell el-Mashkutah (= Pithom in the Egyptian delta), of which a rim-inscription reads as follows:²⁷)

"This has Qainū bar Gašmu, the king of Kedar, dedicated to Han-'Ilat". On the basis of the type of the bowl and the palaeography this inscription must be dated to ± 400 B.C. and this would indeed make Geshem a contemporary of Nehemiah. The fact that this Geshem also calls himself "king" confirms the account of Herodotus. Seeing that the Kedar of that time lay further east (in the centre of *Wadi Sirhan*?), this find made in Egypt indicates the far-reaching influence of this sheikh. That the extent of this influence also included the former South-Judah and the Negev seems very probable. We must however guard against ascribing to this influence too much of an independent political-military character. At the most one could think of certain "police-tasks" for the Kedarites in these desert areas between the VIth and Vth satrapy. The same is already known of the

²³) Y. Aharoni, *Lachish V*, 42-43.

²⁴) E. Stern, *The Material Culture of Israel in the Persian Period (538-332 B.C.)* (Jerusalem 1973; Hebrew), espec. Chapter IV. Cf. also H. G. M. Williamson, *Israel in the Book of Chronicles* (Cambridge 1977).

²⁵) A. Mazar, 'The Tobiads', *IEJ* 7 (1957), 137-145, 229-238.

²⁶) A. Lemaire, 'Un nouveau roi arabe de Qedar dans l'inscription de l'autel à encens de Lakish', *RB* 81 (1974), 63-72. Cf. also O. Tuffnell, *Lachish III, The Iron Age* (London 1953), 358-359.

²⁷) W. J. Dumbrell, 'The Tell el-Mashkuta Bowls and the "Kingdom" of Qedar in the Persian Period', *BASOR* 203 (1971), 33-44.

Assyrian king Tiglath-pileser III, who entrusted the tribe Idiba'ilu (cf. Gen. 25:13) with the task of peacekeeping at the gates of Egypt²⁸). Besides, the Kedarites caused the New-Babylonian king serious problems. Their home territory from the 6th century B.C. onwards is usually described as: "Between the Wadi Sirhan and Palmyra". In Jeremiah 49:28 Kedar is equated with *b'nē qèdēm*, and Ezekiel 25:4,10 prophesies that *b'nē qèdēm* will profit from the fall of Ammon and Moab. The view that the Nabonidus Chronicle knows a fortress or a fortified city of the Kedarites called Adummu is now out of date. The traditional identification of this "Adummu" was: Duma = al-Jawf, halfway on an imaginary line from Palmyra in the North to Tema in the South²⁹).

Concluding I would like to say: it is possible that the southern and southwestern part of Palestine was called Edom/Idumaea already in Nehemiah's time. It is, however, unlikely that it was then an official Persian province. The cities in the southern Shephelah, that were moreover almost all old city-states, such as Gerar, Ziklag, Ekron and Marissa, were possibly administratively subordinate to Ashdod. At that time the population in these cities rapidly increased, partly as a result of Phoenician immigration. But meanwhile the question remains as to when Idumaea actually became independent. The earliest direct mention of Idumaea- and, incidentally, also of Galilee—is to be found in the archive of the Ptolemaic tax official Zenon³⁰), who in 259 B.C. travelled to Palestine on business. He visited Idumaea and in the capital city Marissa settled some tax matters with the government officials there. Ptolemaic Palestine was governed centrally and very bureaucratically. In Zenon's day Marissa was already a predominantly Greek/Sidonian city. It is certain that Idumaea was then an official hyparchy. Should this province then be regarded as a Ptolemaic creation?

In accordance with the view of A. H. M. Jones it is generally accepted that place-names ending in *-itis* (Moabitis etc.) can be regarded as Ptolemaic in origin³¹). In this way the names of the Egyptian nomes became Graecized. But according to Hengel³²) Idumaea and Galilee also arose at that time. In the letters of Zenon however the form Γαλιλα also occurs once. If this is not a scribal error, then it gives the impression of being older. Cf. the form Samerina, which also occurs and is certainly old. Neither Hengel nor Avi-Yonah give any argumentation other than the *terminus a quo* in the Zenon papyri.

²⁸) Kedar and Adbeël are mentioned together in Gen. 25. See now N. Na'aman, 'The Brook of Egypt and Assyrian Policy on the Border of Egypt', *Tel Aviv* 6 (1979), 68-90; cf. also *ANET*³, 282-284.

²⁹) So for instance K. Galling, 'Jesaia 21 im Lichte der neuen Nabonidtexte', in: *Tradition und Situation = A. Weiser Festschrift* (Göttingen 1963), 49-62. See above p. 53.

³⁰) C. C. Edgar, *Zenon Papyri*, vol. I (1925); espec. nos. 59006 and 59015. V. Tcherikover, in: *World History of the Jewish People*, vol. 6 (London 1976), chapters III and IV.

³¹) Accepted with approval by Avi-Yonah and Hengel, *Judentum und Hellenismus*.

³²) M. Hengel, *Judentum und Hellenismus* (Tübingen 1969¹), 37.

Especially in recent years many excavations have been carried out in the Negev, as a result of which finds dating from the Persian period have been made in various places. The best known are those of Tell Seba', Tell 'Arad and recently Tell 'Ira. It is notable that in none of these places it was possible to associate these finds with any real occupation layer. In other words people must have been living here during the Persian period, but there is no question of citadels or cities, as previously in the days of the First Temple. The majority of these finds date from the 4th century B.C. Seeing that villages in the Negev are again mentioned in Seleucid and Hasmonaean times, we can assume that the occupation of this region was taking place in the 4th century. I propose the following state of affairs: in the fourth century B.C. there was such an increase in population in the Negev (and especially the northern Negev/South Judah) that it became profitable to impose taxation. At the same time, it is in the fourth century that the Nabataeans first appear in Arabia, to which the central Negev belonged. I therefore assume that it was the Persians who in the 1st half of the 4th century B.C. established a new province Idumaea. They did this not only for fiscal reasons but also because the Kedarites were becoming an increasingly more important factor in this region, in combination with the rise of the Nabataeans. Added to the new province were some larger centres with a population already Hellenized, such as Marissa³³) and Gerar³⁴). At this time Lachish was nothing more than a small Jewish village. The Zenon papyri too clearly show that Idumaea contained an important Jewish population group.

My most important argument for proposing that the province of Idumaea was established by the Persians, at the beginning of the 4th century, is derived from the Aramaic ostraca and inscriptions from Arad and Beersheba. In Arad 86 of these were found, of which 46 are legible, and in Beersheba 67, of which 45 are legible. Both groups have been published by J. Naveh³⁵). In neither case were the ostraca found in any distinct stratigraphical situation, but rather mainly in rubbish pits. Aharoni was of the opinion that a Persian fort stood on T. Arad, but he has hardly any evidence for this. On palaeographical grounds however Naveh was able to date the ostraca to the middle of the 4th century. This dating is confirmed by the Beersheba ostraca, found later, which correspond palaeographically with those from Arad and which moreover give concrete datings:

Nr. 1. (On) the 14th of Tammuz, 12th year

³³) The hellenistic character of the city of Marissa is indicated consistently by the graves that were found there: J. P. Peters and H. Thiersch, *The Painted Tombs in the Necropolis of Marissa* (London 1905).

³⁴) For Gerar: cf. A. Alt, 'Saruhen, Ziklag, Horma, Gerar. Beiträge zur historischen Geographie und Topographie des Negeb, Tl. III' (1925) = *Kleine Schriften* Bd. 3, 409-435.

³⁵) Y. Aharoni, *K'tubôt Arad* (Jerusalem 1975), 165-204; Idem, *Beer-Sheba I, (1969-1971 seasons)* (Tel Aviv 1973), 79-82; Idem, *Tel Aviv* 6 (1979), 182-195.

Nr. 2. (On) the 7th of Tammuz, 13th year

Nr. 3. (On) the 26th of Sivan, 7th year

The years indicated most probably refer to regnal years in this case of Artaxerxes II (400-359 B.C.) or Artaxerxes III (359-338 B.C.). On the basis of palaeographical arguments Naveh opts for the second king and that would e.g. date the first ostrakon to 347 B.C. The official formulations and other peculiarities (dockets/signs in the margin) correspond to those on Aramaic ostraca found elsewhere in the Middle East. Here we are concerned with typical tax receipts³⁶). In Arad, moreover, horses and donkeys are frequently mentioned. In my opinion these ostraca indicate that in the middle of the 4th century B.C. there was a form of Persian government in the northern Negev. It seems to me therefore that we can date the establishment of a new province Idumaea to the first half of the 4th century. Here it must be realized that especially the years 380-360 B.C. were marked by a whole series of uprisings in Egypt and of the Phoenician coastal cities. Earlier pharaoh Nephertites I (399-393 B.C.) had already penetrated into Southern Palestine. These circumstances too would have made a better organization of the Persian presence along the southern border most expedient.

In South-west Palestine the third century B.C. was moreover a time when large estates developed that were partly worked by slaves. Here too the Zenon papyri are illustrative. Zenon himself bought two slaves in Idumaea, who, however, fled back to their former master. The southern Shephelah is eminently suited to this kind of agriculture, by which large estates are worked by slave-labour. It was probably at this time that the actual division occurred into a markedly Graecized western part and a much more primitive eastern part. In the eastern part, which included cities such as Adoraim (Dura) and Hebron, there was a large Jewish minority, if not an actual majority. Dating from the same time as that of Zenon is an interesting bilingual ostrakon from Khirbet el-Kôm³⁷), containing a Greek and Aramaic text of an acknowledgement of debt made by a person with a Greek name Nikeratos, who borrowed 22 drachmas from a certain Qosyada'. This ostrakon, that is very interesting for a number of reasons, shows that in the 3rd century B.C. the region between Hebron and Lachish was inhabited by people who spoke Greek and Aramaic (or at least by people who wrote in these languages). Also the "Edomitic" name with the theophore element of Qos/Qaus is interesting³⁸).

³⁶) According to Aharoni the numbers do not refer to sums of money, but to numbers of soldiers.

³⁷) *BASOR* 220 (1975); *IEJ* 28 (1978). In Khirbet el-Kôm several ostraca were found, but this is the most interesting one of the find. Together they are to be considered an archive of an Idumaeon.

³⁸) Th. C. Vriezen, 'The Edomitic Deity Qaus', *OTS* 14 (Leiden 1965), 330-353. Names with this theophorous element are also known from this period from Marissa. One should be cautious, however, especially with this relatively young period, in automatically attributing names with particular theophorous elements to particular ethnical or cultural groups, as the case may be.

Under the Seleucids Idumaea was reorganized and enlarged with the former region of Ashdod. This became a 3rd subdistrict with Jamnia as centre. Ashkelon remained a Sidonian colony, while Gaza retained a special status. Idumaea was then an official eparchy, and included a large part of the coastal plain, as far as and including Joppa.

Under the Maccabaeans Idumaea was often a scene of strife. The conquest of Gezer is well known. In the 2nd century B.C. Gaza was taken after a long siege by Alexander Jannaeus. The support promised by the Arabians (read: Nabataeans) was not forthcoming. A notorious event was Alexander's enforced Judaization of Idumaea, that Johannes Hyrcanus had already annexed as a province. The enforcement of circumcision probably only applied to the Hellenistic population in the west. The majority of people living in the Negev and South Judah would have been of Semitic origin. It is perhaps possible that this enforced Judaism also implied the compulsion to accept a religion directed exclusively towards Jerusalem and the closure of alternative sanctuaries such as the Solar Shrine in Lachish. I have already pointed out that there was always a strong Jewish minority living in Idumaea. Avi-Yonah *et al.* strongly emphasize that this enforced Judaization had hardly any lasting success in the Greek cities: these fell away from Judaism at the first opportunity³⁹). It was from the south and east, on the other hand, that later the fanatical Idumaeans came, who were to play such an important role in the first Jewish revolt.

Under the Hasmonaeans Idumaea became part of the empire, but again as an independent province. There were then five provinces that had for the most part the same borders as under the Seleucids: Galilee, Samaria, Peraea, Judah and Idumaea. In 147 B.C. only Ekron was transferred from Idumaea to Judah.

Under the Hasmonaeans, Herod and under the Romans Idumaea remained an important region. In the first place it was borderland and as such a buffer zone. It should be realized here once more that the region we now call the Negev, the Central Negev, was "Arabia". This region came increasingly under the influence of the Nabataeans and cities arose such as Shivta, Nessana, Elusa, Avdat (Oboda). The Hasmonaeans already carried out a deliberate settlement policy in the southern border region, by means of a combination of fortified villages and small forts. Even for the Roman soldiers of Vespasian it was a tough job to conquer these villages⁴⁰). These settlements had no juridical status other than *κωμᾱί* (*k^efar*), but had very strong walls or ramparts. The hard life in this region, that was marginal both geographically and politically, made tough fighters out of the Idumaeans. Under Herod the Idumaeans formed the hard core of his army:

³⁹) Alexander Jannaeus had played havoc somewhat with the Greek cities, that were later rebuilt by Gabinius. The annexation of Idumaea occurred under Joh. Hyrcanus.

⁴⁰) Josephus, *Bellum Judaicum* IV, 446/47.

Josephus speaks of 20.000 men. However he repeatedly accuses the Idumaeans of senseless cruelty and an inborn lust for killing⁴¹). It was because the Idumaeans were so capable of defending a border, undoubtedly against raids made by Arabians, that Herod, in the year 9 B.C., transferred 3000 Idumaeans to Trachonitis to defend that region against the Arabians⁴²).

Idumaea was of great importance not only in a military sense but also from an economic point of view. It controlled the trade routes to the Mediterranean Sea, to Greece and Rome, and to Egypt. Joppa, Gaza and Marissa were important trading centres. In addition Idumaea was the region with large estates. The Hasmonaeans, who as we have seen did a great deal for the development of the region, certainly did not act without self-interest: they later possessed extensive crown colonies there: Herod too had interests on a large scale in Idumaea.

Under Herod another reorganization was carried out: the administrative centre of West Idumaea was transferred from Marissa to Beth Guvrin (Betogabris), and that of East Idumaea to Engedi. This was probably in both cases for strategic reasons, for the cities along the coast were separated from Idumaea by Pompey. M. Gihon speaks of a "Herodian Limes", thus indicating the southern border of Idumaea: En-Gedi, Massada, Zohar, Mesudat Tamar, Horvat Uzzah, Tel Malhata, Tel Masos, Tel Sheva', Beer Shema'⁴³).

The last we hear of the Idumaeans is during the Jewish Revolt. They appeared then in a way rather like Cossacks: the best and most bloodthirsty fighters, but with a rapidly changing loyalty. From 70 C.E. onwards the region was governed directly from Jerusalem. Only in the west did there arise once more large, more or less independent city-states: Eleutherópolis, Geraritis (Saltus-Gerariticus)⁴⁴).

In the 4th century a new flourishing-time began for this region, that was considered for the most part as belonging to Palestina Prima. Only at Beersheba did Palaestina Tertia begin. The name Idumaea thereafter, no longer occurs as far as I know. "Edom", though, does live on in the language of the rabbis as a denigrating term for the Byzantine Empire.

We can therefore say that the habit of calling Southern Palestine "Edom" is in any case demonstrable from the 3rd century B.C. until the 1st century A.D. But until now it has remained an open question how this can be explained, if we consider that the name "Edom" was primarily connected with that region in the southern part of Transjordan where the Kingdom of Edom lay during the Iron Age. In posing this question it should be realized that not only do both "Edoms" lie at a fairly great distance from each other, but also they are separated by three

⁴¹) *Ibidem*, V, 248.

⁴²) *Ibidem*, XVI, 285.

⁴³) M. Gihon, 'Idumaea and the Herodian Limes', *IEJ* 17 (1967), 27-42.

⁴⁴) A. Alt, 'Irrige Meinungen über Gerar' (1937) = *Kleine Schriften*, 435-450.

large natural barriers: the Negev desert, the Arabah and the difference in altitude with respect to the Transjordanian plateau. How insurmountable these barriers were may be apparent from the fact that in Biblical times there were hardly any roads directly connecting this high Edom and South Judah⁴⁵). The well-known road from Petra to Gaza dates from the first century B.C., and the famous route via the Arabah and the Scorpion pass from the second century C.E.⁴⁶). The only road was the *Darb-es-Sultan* from Beersheba to Arad and the southern edge of the Dead Sea. This road was the connection with the King's Highway (*Tariq-es-Sultani*). The only roads from Jerusalem to Ezion-Geber were the King's Highway through Moab and Edom, and the *Darb-el-Ghazze* that connected Gaza with Eilat. This road was accessible from Beersheba.

How then can the appearance of a western Edom be explained? The usual theories are more or less as follows:

- I. Western Edom is a remnant of a Great Edom that existed in the 6th century B.C.
 - II. Western Edom arose as a result of the migration of Edomites caused by Arabian pressure.
- These two theories can be supplemented by three other possibilities:
- III. The choice of the name Edom for Southwest Palestine in late-Persian and Hellenistic times goes back to very old traditions.
 - IV. The choice of the name has a certain politico-religious background.
 - V. The assumed connection with the old Kingdom of Edom does not exist at all. Idumaea is simply a Graecized form of 'Adamah: "good arable land"'.

I. The first half of the sixth century B.C. was a very turbulent time in and around Palestine. The series of wars that were fought over this region had in fact begun long before, in the last two decennia of the seventh century. It is therefore highly improbable that precisely at this time Edom was able to achieve a considerable territorial expansion at Judah's expense, even if we assume with Lindsay that Edom existed until 553 B.C. The archaeological data indicate that precisely in the Negev and in South Judah very many cities were utterly destroyed and even disappeared completely. Under Nebuchadnezzar not only Negev forts such as Arad were severely devastated, but also cities like Lachish, Debir and Beth-Shemesh. There was hardly any recovery at all in the 6th century B.C. That Edom took advantage of the fall of Judah by annexing extensive territories is not apparent from the OT, either. In the OT there is mention of Edomitic collaboration with the Babylonian enemy and of "bands" who with more or less open support

⁴⁵) Z. Meshel and Y. Tsafir, 'The Nabataean Road from Avdat to Sha' ar-Ramon', *PEQ* 106 (1974), 103-118; *PEQ* 107 (1975), 3-21.

⁴⁶) A. Negev, 'The Early Beginnings of the Nabataean Realm', *PEQ* 108 (1976), 125-133.

of Nebuchadnezzar ravaged land that had formerly been Judaeen territory⁴⁷). The existence of a new political formation Great Edom, of which the western part remained after 553 B.C., is in contradiction with everything that we know about this time. Nevertheless Lindsay again introduces the term "Great Edom" for this period, but then in order to indicate that precisely in the Babylonian period very close contacts developed between Edom and Northwest Arabia on the one hand and the southern part of the Palestinian coastal plain on the other (Gaza!). This expansion was however of an economic nature and not political⁴⁸). For Edom is then in a very central position: here the King's Highway from the north and the routes from Arabia come together, and via Ezion Geber the roads from Egypt and from Gaza enter the country. It seems obvious that Edomitic trade profited from the fact that Judaeen control of the Negev, that had been at its height in the 7th century B.C., suddenly ceased after 598 B.C. Moreover in this period the Greek cities reached a level of prosperity that enabled them to establish an increasingly better market for commodities from the East.

In conclusion I can say that it is highly improbable that a Great Edom existed in the 6th century, just as it is also improbable that there existed a Persian province Great Edom including both East and West Edom⁴⁹).

Now there are many scholars who, often without thorough argumentation, propose that during the Judaeen monarchy Edom ruled at least temporarily over large parts of the Negev. These attempts do not stand up to criticism⁵⁰). For example attempts have repeatedly been made to identify the "Salt Valley", where most of the military encounters between Israel and Edom took place, with the Wadi el-Milh, in the Northern Negev. Nowadays it is agreed however that this "Salt Valley" must be sought somewhere on the south coast of the Dead Sea: the only place where the borders of High Edom and Judah touched⁵¹). Ezion Geber and Elath were in a way enclaves that belonged alternatively to Edom or Judah⁵²). During the First Temple period the Arabah was the western border of the political entity "Edom". It is thus not possible to reconstruct a "Great Edom" during the monarchy.

⁴⁷) II Kings 24:2, with Edom instead of Aram. Cf. Lindsay, *o.c.* p. 25. The whole theory of a western expansion of Edom is in fact based on the late text I Esdras 4:50.

⁴⁸) Lindsay, *o.c.* p. 36-39.

⁴⁹) See above, p. 59. This is proposed especially by M. Noth, 'Eine palästinische Lokalüberlieferung in 2. Chr. 20', *ZDPV* 67 (1945), 45-70, espec. 62-63.

⁵⁰) Already in 1936 N. Glueck wrote: "It is seen that during the period of existence as an independent state, the territory of Edom never extended west of the Arabah" ('The Boundaries of Edom', *HUCA* 11, (1936) 141-157; the citation is from p. 152).

⁵¹) Y. Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible* (London 1967), 263. A. Negev, *PEQ* 108 (1976), 129. M. Weippert, *Edom*, 418. But see also the *Oxford Bible Atlas* (London 1974²), which opts for the *Wadi el-Milh*.

⁵²) Weippert, *Edom*, 421.

I will briefly go into two arguments of those that do indeed take into account Edomitic political and military presence in the Negev during the period of the Judaean kings. The first is based on texts such as Deut. 1:2, 44, 46. Here it is suggested that Seir, Hormah and Kadesh were situated not very far apart. Here a problem seemingly arises, if one assumes that Seir is used synonymously with Edom and that Kadesh (Barnea) must be identified with 'Ain-el-Qudeirat or 'Ain-Qdeis in the southwestern Negev⁵³). One is then forced to assume that "Edom" exercised control in some sense over areas west of Wadi Arabah⁵⁴). Careful literary analysis of this and similar verses indicates however that here we are concerned with an entanglement of traditions of different origin and that the reference to Kadesh in combination with Seir is secondary⁵⁵). The second argument is based on the reference to Edomites in the Negev ostraca. Ostraca dating from the period of the Judaean monarchy have been found not only in Tell Kheleifeh but also in Tell Arad⁵⁶). In both places we find proper names with the theophore element Qaus occurring at least once, in Arad possibly twice. Now a seal has been found in Aroer (in the Negev), dating from the same period, with the text *lqws*. At this site painted IA II pottery from Edom has also been found. But at the same time also the most southern Judaean *lmlk*-seal (Zif) known so far⁵⁷).

The Arad letter no. 24:20 includes the words that have since become famous: *pèn tãbô* 'ēdôm šāmā, 'lest Edom comes there'. The letter includes an appeal to

⁵³) C. H. J. de Geus, 'Kadesh Barnea: Some Geographical and Historical Remarks', *OTS* 20 (1977), 56-66.

⁵⁴) G. I. Davies, *The Way of the Wilderness. A Geographical Study of the Wilderness Itineraries in the Old Testament* (Cambridge 1979), 75. It is remarkable that Davies proposes this without any argumentation, after everything that has been written on this problem in recent years. In his recently published article 'The Significance of Deuteronomy 1.2 for the location of Mount Horeb', *PEQ* 111 (1979), 87-101, Davies had changed his position a little. After rejecting the literary arguments of M. Noth and S. Mittmann Davies now tries to show that the mountains area North-east and South-east of 'Ain Qudeirat could have been called "Seir". However, he has very few arguments and one of them is very weak in my opinion. Citing Aharoni (*The Land of the Bible*, 213-217), that according to the border descriptions of the Book of Joshua Mt Halak was contiguous to Mt Seir, he does not put the question "on which side?". It is clear from Aharoni's book that he locates Mt Seir and Edom (which he rightly considers as being largely synonymous) to the East of Mt Halak. Aharoni identifies the now called *Darb el-Ghazze* as the way to Mt Seir (map 14). Although it is true that Aharoni in his last years sometimes suggested that (a part of) the Negev could have been called "Edom" during the early monarchy, he also admitted that there are no proofs. It would of course solve many problems if we could really demonstrate that at a certain period a region in the Negev was called "Seir" or even "Edom". I myself was in a way victim to this temptation too by citing uncritically Z. Meshel in my article cited in footnote 51. As long as a Mt Seir or an Edom cannot be demonstrated for the Negev in this period, one has to accept a literary solution for the problem of Deut. 1:2; or a much younger date for the Book Deuteronomy as a whole.

⁵⁵) S. Mittmann, *Deuteronomium 1:1 - 6:3 literarkritisch und traditionsgeichtlich untersucht* (BZAW 139, Berlin 1975).

⁵⁶) Y. Aharoni, *Ketubot 'Arad* (Jerusalem 1975).

⁵⁷) A. Biran and R. Cohen, 'Aroer in the Negev', *Qadmoniot* 11 (1978), 20-24.

send military support to the garnison at Ramoth-Negev⁵⁸). The ostracon is dated to the 2nd half of the eighth century B.C. In ostracon 40:10,15 there is mention of "... (letters) from Edom" and of "... the harm that Edom has done". Ostracon 40 is dated to the early years of the sixth century B.C. Dating from the time around 600 B.C. is also the Elyasib archive. Here on ostracon 3, after some illegible lines, we suddenly find in line 12 the word "Edomites". Ostracon 21:5 mentions Edom again and perhaps there is reference to a king of Edom. It is clearly a political letter, but unfortunately only the beginning is distinctly legible. Ostracon 21 was found near the Elyasib archive. It is clear from these letters that there were conflicts between Judaeans and Edomites in the Negev, but it is incorrect to connect these conflicts exclusively with the military activities of Senacherib or Nebuchadnezzar. In the Old Testament there is reference to old trade connections between Edom and Gaza⁵⁹). At different places in the Negev sherds of Edomite pottery have been found. In addition we now know that "Edomites" were involved in winning copper in the Arabah and in exploiting asphalt near the Dead Sea. Edom therefore certainly had important interests in the Negev, but these were mainly of an economic nature. For the occurrence of possibly related population groups, see below. If one views the conflicts mentioned in the Arad letters against this background, then they contain nothing abnormal of anything that would not be expected in a region where Judaean authorities tried to gain control over the semi-nomadic population and the caravans passing through⁶⁰). It is very well possible that Edomitic kings tried to get a foothold in the Negev, but the OT says very clearly that their attempts did not succeed.

The origin of the later Idumaea therefore cannot be explained by the former existence of a Great Edom.

II. The second explanation, namely that of Arab pressure⁶¹), is used in two ways: firstly to explain how Eastern Edom disappeared and secondly to explain the migration of groups of Edomites to the west. In both cases this explanation is based on two assumptions that are false.

The first is that in the old Edom a break occurred in the continuity of occupation. We have already seen that this is based on the view that Edom, in contrast to Moab and Ammon, was not included in the system of provinces under the Persians. Not only is there an increasing amount of information available about occupation in Edom in Persian times, but precisely the continuity between the

⁵⁸) Usually identified with Horvat 'Uzzah, some 10 km SE of Arad. Mittmann opts for Khirbet Garra, at the same distance to the South-West of Arad (*ZDPV* 93 (1977), 220).

⁵⁹) Amos 2:6-12.

⁶⁰) See also Weippert, *Edom*, 387.

⁶¹) Cf. e.g. J. Bright, *A History of Israel* (London 1960), 324. B. Oded, in *Israelite and Judaean History*, 477, speaks of a "flow of Edomites and Arabian tribes to the southern area of Judah".

earlier Edomitic culture and the later Nabataean culture is at present becoming more and more emphasized⁶²). This continuity is evident with regard to pottery, from an economic point of view inasmuch as the same trade routes came to flourish under the Nabataeans as had been travelled previously by the Edomites. With regard to religion we observe above all a continuity in the worship of Qaus and moreover one in the case of certain shrines. It is also becoming more widely assumed that not only the script but also the Nabataean language was derived from the local, autochthonous population, although this language would not have been the earlier Edomitic (a Canaanitic language), but a form of Aramaic. "The Nabataeans" are identified less and less as Arabians. On the other hand a growing influence of the Arabic language in this period cannot be denied. It is generally assumed that the Edomites spoke a Canaanite dialect, cognate with Hebrew. The short inscription on the incense altar from Lachish, mentioned above, could therefore be Hebrew or Edomite as it uses the Canaanitic word *bn*, "son". But just recently J. Naveh has shown that on the Beersheba ostraca from the midfourth century B.C. mixtures occur of Hebrew/Edomitic and Arabic. The proper name Natainu for instance is of an Arabic type, but from a Canaanite root (the Arabic root *ntn* means 'to stink'!). This same root is also found on an ostrakon from Tel 'Ira: *ntnw*. Naveh therefore prefers now to speak of the inhabitants of the Negev, as the "Edomite Arabs"⁶³). The second incorrect assumption is that the desert population, viz. the Arabians, exerted such constant pressure on the arable land that they almost automatically overflowed into this region whenever there was a collapse of the political structure (as a result of disasters or wars). This outdated view does not take into consideration the fact that nomads and sedentary people need each other here in what is in fact a marginal region. Under normal circumstances an equilibrium is established between nomads and sedentary people⁶⁴). When this is disturbed, in this case by the series of wars between 630 and 530 B.C., then this does indeed often mean a shift at the expense of the sedentary way of life, but often it is the same people who are involved. That migrations occurred on a small scale, especially along the traditional trade routes, is very likely, but a complete break in continuity of occupation most unlikely. It can certainly be said that the sedentary population declined, but not that it

⁶²) N. Glueck, *Deities and Dolphins* (New York 1965), 4; J. Starcky, 'Pétra et la Nabatène', *DBS* VII (Paris 1966), col. 924; and now especially J. Bartlett's latest article 'From Edomites to Nabataeans: a study in continuity', *PEQ* 111 (1979), 53-66. Heshbon ostrakon II mentions the Edomite group of the Gublites. As this ostrakon is dated by F.M. Cross to ca. 525 B.C. (*Andrews Univ. Sem. Studies* 11 (1973), 126-131), this would be the earliest occurrence of this group, which is also mentioned in Ps. 83:8.

⁶³) J. Naveh, 'The Aramaic ostraca from Tell Beer Sheba (Seasons 1971-1976)', *Tel Aviv* 6 (1979), 182-195. See for Tel 'Ira *IEJ* 29 (1979), 124f.

⁶⁴) I have tried to give a summary of the modern views in 'Nomaden en sedentairen in het oude Midden Oosten', *Spiegel Historiae* 14 (1979), 11-18.

disappeared. One should always bear in mind that what the Bible refers to as the Negev is no more than the fertile strip of loess in South Palestine, some 15 km to the north and 15 km to the south of Beersheba. This strip, about 30 kms wide and extending broadly speaking from Arad to Beersheba, lies just where the annual rainfall limit is 200 mm. The whole region to the south of this strip was only of importance whenever this was forcibly stimulated by the authorities in Jerusalem. This happened \pm 1000 B.C. and in the 8th/7th century B.C. Forts then arose everywhere, which protected the trade routes and roads and functioned as nuclei for settlements. This remained a region where there was no sedentary life of any importance without these external stimuli: when the support of Jerusalem ceases, the settlements disappear. Between 600 and 400 B.C. we find hardly any trace of settlement in the Negev. The actual Negev, as described above, is a marginal region too. The division into districts introduced under Josiah suggests that at the end of the 7th century B.C. this was a fairly densely populated region. After occupation ceased in the central Negev and a wave of destruction swept through the Northern Negev, in that area too there occurred a large-scale recession of the sedentary way of life. The result was that groups of nomads, who in the 7th century B.C. had been forced to look for regions further south, could settle there. There is no need whatsoever to assume a factor of Arabian pressure to account for these movements even though Arabian groups make their first appearance in South Palestine at this time. It is worthwhile emphasizing that in its modern context the word "Arab" has a primarily linguistic connotation. In former times the word "Arab" had much more of a social meaning: it referred to the inhabitants of the steppes between cultivated land and actual desert. When the old Edom becomes known as "Arabia" at this time, this means primarily that the way of life there was predominately semi-nomadic and dimorphic.

III. In the tribal systems of the Bible the western part of the Negev in its strictest sense is allotted to the tribe of Simeon. In the eastern part we hear from the earliest times of groups such as Jerahmeelites, Kenites, Kenizzites, Calebites. Together with Simeon all these groups were later included in Judah⁶⁵). The Old Testament traces these groups, together with the typical Negev tribes such as Korah and Amalek, back to Cain and Esau. And Esau was the father of Edom. These were brother-tribes par excellence, but their other origin was always known.

One might wonder whether among these groups too there did not remain in existence the idea of being related to Edom. We have seen above that it is well

⁶⁵) R. de Vaux, *Histoire ancienne d'Israël*, I, 3^e partie, ch. II, 'l'Installation dans le Sud de la Palestine' (Paris 1971), 487-510; W. Beltz, *Die Kaleb-Traditionen im Alten Testament* (BZAWT 98, Stuttgart 1974); H. J. Zobel, 'Beiträge zur Geschichte Gross-Judahs in früh- und vordavidischer Zeit', *VTS* 28 (Leiden 1975), 253-277.

possible that Edomitic groups migrated to South Palestine. Here we must probably think primarily in terms of merchant folk. The cessation of Judaeen control over the Negev created a vacuum of which Edom made use, notably by intensifying trade contacts with the coast (Gaza, Ashkelon). This development would certainly have been easier if the population was aware of the mutual interrelation of its constituent groups. This interrelation goes back to a distant past, and for the South-Judaeen groups and the Edomites a common descent must be postulated, e.g. from Midian⁶⁶). But I doubt whether this interrelation in itself and the establishment of Edomitic trading colonies are sufficient to explain that South-west Palestine comes to be known as "Edom". There is no clear indication whatsoever that this region or these population groups were called "Edom" in the period of kings.

IV. This fourth possibility is actually a further consequence of III. If from earliest times groups of people lived in South Palestine who felt themselves to be related to Edom, and if in the 6th century these groups received reinforcements from the "fatherland", then it is conceivable that in this region an anti-Judaeen feeling developed. This is something that we see happening at the same time in Samaria too. From a text such as I Sam. 25:23 it is evident that the Judaeans looked down on Calebites and other "spurious" Judaeans. One can imagine that this situation did not matter very much as long as there was a reasonably decentralized government. The possession of shrines such as Hebron, Beersheba, and Arad was an effective counterweight against Jerusalem. Various scholars have surmised that in cities such as Hebron and Beersheba the worship of Qaus and of the god of Israel occurred side by side⁶⁷). Bartlett speaks in this connection even of the "essential similarity" of the Yhwh and Qaus religions. Also interesting in this connection is the attempt made by Maxwell Miller to establish a connection between the earlier South-Judaeen Korahites and the later Levite tribe of Korah⁶⁸).

Is it too bold to assume that the coexistence of Judaeans and these groups was disturbed under Josiah? There took place a more rigid centralization of government,

⁶⁶) There are indications that the rough so-called Negev-ware is related to particular forms from NW-Arabia. See now for the antiquity of the contacts between the (Central) Negev and the Arabah and NW-Arabia J. Kalsbeek and Gloria London, 'A late second-millennium B.C. potting puzzle', *BASOR* 232 (1979), 47-56.

⁶⁷) K. Gallig, 'Das Gemeindegesetz in Deuteronomium 23', in: *Bertholet Festschrift* (Tübingen 1950), 176-191; Th. C. Vriezen, 'The Edomite deity Qaus', *OTS* 14 (1965), 330-353; J. R. Bartlett, 'The brotherhood of Edom', *JSOT* 4 (1977), 6, and by the same author 'Yahweh and Qaus: A response to M. Rose', *JSOT* 5 (1978), 29-38. Rose (*JSOT* 4 (1977), 28-34) defends the position that the god Qaus was introduced in Edom as a result of the growing Arab influence, a position rightly rejected by Bartlett.

⁶⁸) J. Maxwell Miller, 'The Korahites of Southern Judah', *CBQ* 32 (1970), 58-68; B. Mazar, 'The sanctuary of Arad and the family of Hobab the Kenite', *JNES* 24 (1965), 297-303; S. Mittmann, 'Ri 1,16f und das Siedlungsgebiet der kenitischen Sippe Hobab', *ZDPV* 93 (1977), 213-235.

and previously semi-autonomous regions became administrative districts. The centralization of cult activities would certainly have been an especially heavy blow to the Qaus-worshippers in the south. It is not difficult to imagine how anti-Jerusalem feelings spread.

We have seen how in the 4th century B.C. the south came to flourish once more. Not least among the reasons for this is the establishment of a number of Greek/Sidonian cities. From the ostraca dating from this time, and discovered in Arad and Beersheba, we know that Jews and non-Jews lived in this region. We find typical Jewish names, but also Arabic ones. In both places we still find Qaus names, as we do in Marissa too. Here however a syncretism had probably occurred with the Arabian god $\kappa\omega\zeta\alpha$ (Kozah). Both gods became fused into the Greek god Apollo. According to Hengel this would explain the great popularity of Apollo. According to Hengel this would explain the great popularity of Apollo in Idumaea⁶⁹).

If Aharoni is right in his identification of a cult building in Lachish as a heterodox Jewish temple, then this provides further support for my view that in South-west Palestine a fairly strong anti-Jerusalem feeling prevailed. This is in spite of the fact that a significant part of the population remained Jewish. We have seen that "Idumaea" as an administrative district probably came into existence towards the end of the 4th century B.C. The Negev and the old Edom were then known as "Arabia". The choice of the name "Edom" for the new district would have been connected with the fact that the Persian authorities were then cooperating in that region especially with persons and groups who identified themselves as "Edomites", i.e. the Semitic population that was not Jerusalem-oriented. This cooperation took place to the exclusion of the Greek/Sidonian population which was strongly represented especially in the cities. But we have seen that at the beginning of the fourth century B.C. it was precisely among this group that there was unrest and a tendency to revolt against the Persians. As the coastal cities such as Gaza, Ashkelon and Ashdod remained outside Idumaea, the name Philistea/Palestine could not be used for this region⁷⁰). Furthermore, the coastal strip with the Greek cities became known as "Paralia". Seeing that Jerusalem would never have ceded her claim to this region, there must have been a distinct political motive behind the choice of the name "Edom".

The anti-Judaeen feelings in this region were to flare up again under Herod. The governor of Idumaea was for some time Kostobaros, Herod's son-in-law.

⁶⁹) M. Hengel, *Judentum und Hellenismus*, 474²⁴.

⁷⁰) From Herodotus we know that the population of these coastal cities described themselves as 'Palestinians'. This probably goes back to the Aramaic form $p^{\prime}lištā'in$ (Philistines): M. Noth, 'Zur Geschichte des Namens Palästina', *ZDPV* 63 (1939), 125-144.

This name too is usually connected with the name of the god Qaus⁷¹). Josephus mentions that this Kostobaros came from an old family of priests of the god κωζα of Idumaea (Marissa). After he became appointed governor of Idumaea, he was urged by nationalistic motives, and with the aid of Cleopatra, to detach Idumaea from Judah.

V. For the sake of completeness I would draw attention to the possibility that the choice of the name "Edom" has no connection whatsoever with the old Edom in Transjordan. In South-west Palestine too there are large areas with the famous "terra rossa". It was from this extremely fertile soil that the word ^adāmā, "red earth", was derived. If Edom was named after this type of soil, then theoretically it is also possible that the same name arose in South-west Palestine completely independently.

May 1980

⁷¹) According to a footnote in the Loeb-edition of Fl. Josephus, *Antiquitates*, Liber XV 252, S. A. Cook regarded the name as a scribal error for Kosgabaros.

EVERY-DAY LIFE AS CREATION

A STYLISTIC ANALYSIS OF B. TA'ANIT 23a-b*)

J. P. FOKKELMAN — LEIDEN

One of the many charming Haggadah-stories from the treatise Ta'anit in the Babylonian Talmud, which as a group are sometimes called the "Chapter of the Pious", tells us a day from the life of Abba Hilqiya, the grandson of the rainmaker Honi the Circle-drawer, who was already a legendary figure in the Mishnah. The piece is so rich in meanings and transmits such mature values that it deserves a careful study.

In this contribution the question as to what the text itself says is put in the centre. In order to reach this centre I take as a guide the question repeated continually and at each level, as to how the story speaks to us, how it has been constructed, which stylistic means have been used by the narrator, and how they have been united to a whole. Every observation produced by this approach will then require an interpretation, so that my second guide with every step will be: what does this mean?

The text has been transmitted uncorrupted. I use that form of the text as will be found in MS München nr. 140/141, which was printed in 1910 as part of a chrestomathy by Margolis¹) and later also in Henry Malter's²) well-known Ta'anit edition, to all appearance³).

MS Mü 95, mainly famous for being the only complete Talmud manuscript extant, does not essentially differ from it⁴). This fact is one of my reasons for not

*) Translated from the Dutch by Puck Visser-Hagedoorn.

¹) Max L. Margolis, *Lehrbuch der aramäischen Sprache des babylonischen Talmuds, Grammatik, Chrestomathie und Wörterbuch* (München 1910).

²) H. Malter, *The Treatise Ta'anit of the Babylonian Talmud, critically edited and provided with a translation and notes* (Philadelphia 1928), and re-edited in an *editio minor* 1956 and 1967.

³) I assume that Malter has followed MS nr. 140/1 on the basis of the following facts: a) his variants in respect of Margolis are very few and practically only orthographical in nature; b) wherever Margolis' text differs from MS München 95 in more than merely orthographical or morphological respect Malter agrees with Margolis and has not followed Mü 95; c) whereas he indicates that he offers an "entirely eclectic" text (p. xxxiii, ed. minor) he praises MS 140/1 as "relatively the most correct manuscript of our treatise" in his description on p. xviii; d) neither Margolis nor Malter includes the more than 30 additional words of the textus receptus in this one story.

⁴) Most variants are of an orthographical or morphological nature only. The other ones are of such little relevance that I only mention two of them, see notes 8 and 10.

taking the *textus receptus*⁵⁾ as a starting-point. I consider this textual witness less successful and secondary because the story has by no means improved⁶⁾ by the addition of more than 30 words (mainly to be found in 4 sentences). I keep to Margolis' text, also for didactic reasons. His glossary offers us a reasonably consistent vocalisation, the main lines of which I follow when transcribing the Aramaic text⁷⁾.

First exploration, especially on the basis of the structure of the story.

The most important element of the composition strikes us already at our first introduction to the text. When Abba Ḥilqiya has visitors he does not at once comply with their request to intercede with God for rain, but finishing his day's work and returning home he first performs a series of eight actions which surprise his visitors and us, readers, with them. They ask him to explain himself more fully and the story gives the explanation in the form of a verbal repetition of the series in the same order, now always in the framework of the rabbis' inquisitive question *may ʾā mā?*, "what is the reason why" you acted like this? Thus an obvious parallelism has come about, dividing the story into two parts; the first half narrates actions, in the second half Abba Ḥilqiya explains his motives in direct speech.

Mostly a story begins by indicating that there is a problem to be solved, a wish waiting to be realized, or a want to be filled up. It is the same in this story. Palestine thirsts for rain and the rabbis want to put an end to the catastrophical drought which the country is suffering from by calling in the help of the grandson of a famous rainmaker. Messengers, *zūgā d'ṛabbānan*, are sent to obtain his intercession. One moment a problem looms—"they went to his house but did not

⁵⁾ To which I have access in the form of

a) The editio princeps by Bomberg, Venice 1520-23, as it is to be found, with a translation, in L. Goldschmidt, *Der Babylonische Talmud* ..., I-VII (Berlin 1897-1903), VIII (Leipzig 1909) and IX (The Hague 1935);

b) the Pesaro-edition 1511-19. Gustav Dalman has our story in that version, in the *Aramäische Dialektproben* (2nd ed., 1927) 30f., going with his *Grammatik des Jüdisch-Palästinischen Aramäisch* (2nd ed., Leipzig 1905);

c) the translation of The Soncino Press (34 volumes; London 1935-48), under the leadership of I. Epstein, which is principally based on the Wilna Romm edition. (In it the treatise Ta'anit has been translated by J. Rabbinowitz, 1938);

d) the data offered by R. Rabbinovicz, *Diqdūqē Sōfērim*. The variant readings of Ta'anit in vol. 3 (München 1870).

⁶⁾ This opinion I have further explained in the notes 9, 11, 13, 20 and 21 below.

⁷⁾ Writing a literary study I do not lay claim to linguistic-historical correctness in my vocalisations. The problems connected with the mere pursuit of it will be realized by the Aramaic scholars among my readers. Also, my transcription serves a practical purpose only. A somewhat different vocalisation is to be found with Dalman, *op. cit.*

find him"; the meaning of this negative part we shall discuss later—but a moment later the visitors find the man they looked for in the field at work.

A narrator beginning like this suggests to his listeners that the unfolding story will lead from drought via intercession to rain. In this way he evokes expectations with us, and suspense—always an important means of narrators to hold and intensify the attention. We wonder: will the wishes of the asking party be complied with, and how will this happen? But he who creates expectations at the same time enables himself to prepare surprises, viz. by thwarting the expectations. This happens in our story, too. Even before half of the words have been spoken the rain-clouds have already come and the end asked for by the beginning has already been reached. Surprised we now observe that this story is about more and about other things than drought, asking for rain and getting it. In II and our discussion of it they will be worked out.

The beginning, the very first sentence, also suggests that Abba Ḥilqiya is the all-important person and that he has inherited the charisma of being able to make rain from his grandfather; through his medium only the Israelites think they will get the liberating rain. However, at this point, too, the story thwarts our expectations. The narrator has prepared us a surprise: not on the side of Ḥoni's grandson does the rain-cloud appear, that divine sign of rain, but on the opposite side! Not he, but his wife has performed the decisive intercession. As essential as her contribution is, so anonymous she is there. The text prepares this surprise by not mentioning her in sentence 4 of the introduction. The meaning of this is that the rabbis, arriving at Abba Ḥilqiya's house (*l'ḇēt'ḥū*) are only interested in him, and thus overlook his wife (*d'ḇēt'ḥū*). At that moment they had not the faintest notion how important the woman they ignored would turn out to be for their mission!

We can now number off the beginning sentence by sentence:

1. Abba Ḥilqiya was the grandson of Ḥoni the Circle-drawer.
2. Once the people were in need of rain⁸⁾.
3. The rabbis then sent some of them to him to invoke [God's] pity, so that rain might come.
4. They went to his house, but they did not find him.
5. They went to him in the field, and found him ploughing.

We see that sentence 1 introduces the protagonist to us; already his descent raises a surmise that he must be going to repeat a feat of his grandfather's. Sentence 2: the want, c.q. the wish. In sentence 3 the asking party takes action at once; in the name of "the world" some messengers go to the party mentioned in

⁸⁾ This sentence has been omitted from Malter's translation. Under the influence of the fact that MS Mü 95 does not contain the sentence?

sentence 1⁹). Whereas sentences 1-3 reveal to us the two main parties, the parties that are going to fill the story up with their actions and words, sentences 3 and 4 hide the truly asking party and the truly giving party: the woman is the one that performs the successful intercession, and rain can only be granted by God. Whereas *mib'ā raḥmē* is a common expression in the Aramaic of the Babylonian Talmud, which presupposes God implicitly present as indirect object, the fact, in *this* context, that he has not been mentioned explicitly is most significant of the rabbis' attitude, as we shall see later.

Sentences 4 and 5 complete each other and are in the proportion of minus to plus. In sentence 5 the protagonists meet, which makes us expect: surely, they will "do business" at once. But no, Abba Ḥilqiya—next surprise—ventures to ignore the greetings of his visitors and to place eight more moments before them which make them tumble from one surprise into another. At night they themselves call them *hānē millē datmihā lan tūbā*, and they ask for an explanation. In fact "those things that surprise us so much" take up more space in the story than the whole theme of drought/rain! The various surprises in the composition of the story and the thwarting of expectations raised earlier are, as phenomena at the level of the *signifiants* an analogy or transformation of the element of surprise which is so important within the narrated story (so at the level of the *signifiés*).

Where is the hinge of the story? Having found that, we can work out the parallelism of halves I and II and derive more interesting discoveries from that structural aspect.

The first half ends with the filling up of the want; *s'leq 'nānā*, thanks to the woman's prayer rain will come. The second half replies to this movement upwards (*s'leq*) with the opposite, the movement down (*n'het*) of Abba Ḥilqiya, and is distinguished by being from beginning to end a dialogue between him and the pair of rabbis. I appears to be enframed: what the rabbis asked of Abba Ḥilqiya, *mib'ā raḥmē umētā/ē miṭrā*, is echoed in the words he speaks to his wife: *nib'ē raḥmē, iṣṣar ... w'ātē miṭrā*.

At the beginning of II these words will be found, too, viz. in such a way that we discover how II begins with 5 sentences or parts which run parallel to sentences 1-5 of I:

1' He went down¹⁰) and said to them:

2' "Why have the rabbis come?"

3' They said to him: "We were sent to the master to invoke pity so that rain might come."

⁹) The second sentence in the version of the textus receptus, which precedes our sentence 2, viz. "and whenever the world was in need of rain the Rabbis sent a message to him and he prayed and rain fell" is superfluous and pointless; sentences 1 and 3 of our MS are clear enough in combination.

¹⁰) MS Mü 95 here adds "the rain came"—which is neither strictly indispensable nor quite redundant.

4' He said to them: "Blessed be the Lord who has not made you dependent on Abba Ḥilqiya."

5' They said to him: "We know that the rain has come owing to the master! But now the master must explain to us those things^{*} that surprise us so much."

The clearest correspondence is the one between 3 and 3' which are practically word for word the same: Sentence 1' also introduces the main character and 2' is as much occupied with the origin of this story, in the form of a question by Abba Ḥilqiya, as 2 is in the form of a statement.

Sentence 4' is the jewel of this story, a piece of subtle and spiritual irony; a pronouncement by Abba Ḥilqiya which at one blow throws full light on things in their true perspective and puts his visitors in their proper place. They had not sought God, but him, only a human being. Fundamentally Abba Ḥilqiya now determines that he himself is not an authority who can provide rain and that the access to God is not through him. He who has the true faith has direct access to God, is what Abba Ḥilqiya implies, and with that he criticizes his visitors because their faith contains a magical component. On the one hand they think they cannot do without an intermediary, on the other hand they take it so much for granted that God will react with rain, that they do not mention Him at all. Whereas God is not present in their words (3') and not in the sentence (3) devoted to them, either, he is explicitly mentioned twice by the true saint, Abba Ḥilqiya. First he says, very modestly and humbly, at the end of I: "Let us pray, *perhaps the Holy One will be merciful*, and there will be rain"; to him it is not a matter of course that God will answer his prayer and he is careful what he says. Then he rebukes his hearers obliquely, in the fine form of a eulogy: he is by no means indispensable, and it is not his intercession that has worked. While making fun of the rabbis' conviction he teaches them an elementary lesson in sound theology. He points away from himself, directs all attention and gives all glory to God¹¹). The word used for it is the Hebrew *ḥiṣrik*, which as an echo of *ḥiṣrek* in I,2 is a find by the narrator. The root *ṣrk* becomes a key-word because of this repetition, and with that is given a deeper meaning. "The world is in need of rain" is continued by the rabbis magically in "we are in need of Abba Ḥilqiya" but he radically cuts this connection: *lō ḥiṣrik*, "God has not made you dependent on me!"

The negation in this sentence is a forceful one, and that is precisely the correspondence which connects this part 4' with sentence 4. "They did not find him"—but they did not need him either; "they did not find him" and, unwittingly, they needed precisely the intercession of the very person they did find but did not

¹¹) The addition offered in the textus receptus at the end of Abba Ḥilqiya's proposal, *w'ēlā nahzeq tēbūtā l'naṣṣan*, cf. the Soncino translation "without you having credit given to us", makes that explicit once more. Too much so, in my opinion; in this way too little is left to the reader's imagination.

educational one. And this in spite of the fact that after the intercession and the appearance of the clouds they themselves knew that Abba Hilqiya knew why they had come! So from the seeming superfluity of his question they could have felt that Abba Hilqiya wanted to put their attitude and position to the test of purity, and that he wanted to discuss the matter fundamentally and from the bottom up.

In the chiasmus their certainty is opposite Abba Hilqiya's certainty. However many surprising things they may have experienced, however surprising it may have been that the woman's intercession turned out to be the right one, the gentlemen have not recognized it as a chance for them to become conscious, much less as a moral obligation to that. Because they are not open they do not regard it as a miracle that the rain does come, and the woman's contribution they explain away with "oh well, of course the rain has come because she is Abba Hilqiya's wife!" Their reply (II,3) is word for word so much like I,3 that the narrative clearly indicates: the profound meaning of what is taking place here, is entirely lost on them, and their reply is a cliché, born of density of mind. Even now, after everything that has happened, they do not mention God and they persist in ignoring the woman.—What they do want to know eventually in II,5 is which motives govern Abba Hilqiya's actions and thus he is given a last chance to reach their minds. If the gate to their heart is not astonishment at the miracle of the rain and the woman's intercession, there is nothing for it but to try the back-door: their interest in Abba Hilqiya's actions as a day-labourer.

Second exploration: the series of actions and motivations

When the two messengers had found the authority they had to be patient. They became eye-witnesses of the following events¹²); they are articulated into nine moments which I class as a to and including i:

- a. They greeted him, but he did not heed them.
- b. Towards evening he was picking up chips of wood and, on his way home, carried the chips on one shoulder and his cloak on the other¹³).
- c. The whole way he did not put on his shoes, but when he had to cross the water he put them on.
- d. When he came across thorns and shrubs he lifted up his garments,
- e. and when he reached the city, his wife came to meet him bedecked with her finery.
- f. When he arrived at his house, he let her enter first, then he followed¹³).
- g. He sat down to eat, but did not invite the scholars to join him.

¹²) Except for one detail I here follow Malter's translation; p. 346, ed. min.

¹³) The textus receptus adds in b "a rake", in f "and then the scholars". Two additions that are a little too precise and not essential.

- h. Distributing cakes to the children, he gave to the older child one and to the younger two.
- i. Turning to his wife he said: "I know that these scholars came to see me on account of rain; let us go up to the roof and pray; the Holy One, blessed be He, will, perhaps, accept our prayer and there will be rain." When on the roof, he stood praying in one corner and she in another. The clouds appeared first over the corner where his wife stood.

Let us first have a look at this series and let us, in thought, stand beside the guests while a - i take place, so as yet devoid of explanation. The first thing we will realize is the wide gap of time and culture which separates us modern readers from the talmudic world (not to mention the period in which the "historical" Abba Hilqiya can have lived) and which makes it virtually impossible for us, who have grown up with certainly much changed values, to assess these actions. In the second instance I myself would, tentatively, with all reserve, dare to react in the following way: I do not see the point of b, c, and d; I am not surprised at e and f; a and g are painful to me, Abba Hilqiya seems to be most unkind; for h he surely must have his reasons, and I am surprised at i.

In II the actions return in the same order and practically identical, a' - i', then always introduced by the surprised *may ta'mā*. Only i' has been changed much, and for obvious reasons shortened to the sentence about the cloud which appears over the corner where his wife stood.

The motives which Abba Hilqiya offers as an explanation in a' - i' are as follows:

- a'. "I hired myself out for the day, so I thought I had better not be idle."
- b'. "It is a borrowed garment", he said, "and it was loaned to me for one purpose, but not for the other."
- c'. "Because the entire way", he replied, "I could see (what I was stepping on), in the water I could not see."
- d'. "Because the one (a scratch on the body) heals up, the other (a rent in the garment) does not heal up."
- e'. "In order that I should not cast an eye upon another woman."
- f'. "Because you are not known to me".
- g'. "Because there was not enough food and I did not want to get your thanks for nothing."
- h'. "The older one stays at home, while the younger goes to school."
- i'. "Because the woman is usually in the house, and the good she does is direct."

Fortunately this second half of the story has not been lost, so that we need not give our own opinions at random, and based on weak arguments. It now appears that for the eye-witnesses/visitors these actions are all of them equally surprising and provoke great curiosity. The narrator makes his main character reveal the

motives behind his actions himself, one by one and through this indispensable explanation he enables us to understand the series and to sketch a vivid and subtle portrait of Abba Hilqiya.

The first and the last actions are each other's pendant like minus and plus. In a no interest in the messengers, in i there is interest, exactly as desired. Thus the series has been set in a frame, and this is even strengthened by the beginning of a and of i: in a the rabbis begin to speak—the only time it happens in I—by greeting, in i Hilqiya is less present as an acting person and he begins to speak at last, also the only time in I.

Part i is on his part first of all a speech to his wife, containing three, four careful and important sentences. This last moment i is very clearly the climax of the series a-i: it is much more elaborate than a-h; only here does Abba Hilqiya speak; another agent is added, his wife; her intercession brings a surprise; and the conclusion of i is the end which had already been presumed by the beginning of the story: the realization of the wish. After the *yāda'nā* Abba Hilqiya does not speak once about himself or his qualities; he does not say: "the rabbis have come to see me" as we might expect from I,3//II,3 ($2 \times \textit{\text{šaddarū l'gabbeh}$) and his proposal to pray he puts in the we-form. With that he clearly expresses how important his wife is, in conformity with the fact that he only speaks to her.

How about Abba Hilqiya's subsistence? He is a day-labourer whose financial situation is critical. He is as poor as a church-mouse: he does not have a cloak of his own, but only a borrowed one (b'); he is forced to be extremely careful of his things (c', d') so that he must suffer scratches on his body (d'); he has not a crumb of bread left, his children cannot eat their fill (h'), let alone that he could treat guests to dinner (g'). By admitting it frankly he shows that his unkindness (in a and in g) is only on the surface and that it must be understood against the background of a stone-hard economic fact. Why Abba Hilqiya thinks he cannot afford a single break during his work (a') is not worked out further; perhaps he must avoid the risk of being summarily dismissed, but possibly he has a very strict sense of duty towards his employer. This last supposition fits well in the image that the text gives us of Abba Hilqiya, for he is always very careful in his attitude towards his fellow-men and in his respect of their interests.

We have already seen that as a believer he is careful in his relationship to God. But, on close inspection, he is careful to all sides. He is like that towards his guests. Ignoring their greeting in a did not at all mean, it appears in i, that he was inconsiderate or haughty; on the contrary, when the moment has come he provides for them very well in terms of their wish (i) and later, moreover, by being concerned and by devoting himself to their faith and their religious development, II,2-4, and finally by answering all their questions exactly. He is careful towards his children with their different places and tasks (h'). He is careful towards

his wife, treating her as an equal (i) if not esteeming her more highly than himself—his praise of her is as brief as intense (i'). Finally we also observe his carefulness in b: the acquaintance who lent him a garment he remembers by handling the borrowed article most conscientiously—a pain of the shoulder which carries the wood does not count with him, so strict he is.

By being so alert and conscientious on so many sides Abba Hilqiya shows he is very particular with diverse responsibilities and that he is equal to them. His behaviour is most adequate. He also esteems his fellow-man's interests very highly (a', b', g') so highly even that his own body must suffer pain for it (b', d'). So to a large extent he is selfless and detached. Poverty does not lead to moping, grieving, despondency, grumbling or rebelliousness. The holy man has reached such a high level of maturity that from his desperate level of subsistence he draws inspiration to be equally adequate and conscientious towards everybody else and at every moment. We do not hear him complain of his poverty and he does not give the impression of being crushed or suffering. On the contrary, he uses his poverty as an opportunity and exhortation to his own spiritual development, viz. by sharpening his discernment. We see this in the text because many times a binary situation is put before us:

- his visitors greet him, he does not (a);
- on one shoulder he carries wood, on the other one a cloak (b);
- on the road he does not wear his sandals, in the water he does (c);
- his wife leads the way, he follows (f);
- he sits down and breaks bread, his guests do not (g);
- he distinguishes between his two children (h);
- the cloak was borrowed for one purpose, not for the other (b');;
- on the road he can see, in the water he cannot (c');;
- a scratch on his skin heals up, his cloak does not (d');;
- he can enjoy looking at his wife, not at another woman (e');;
- one child stays at home, the other one goes to school (h').

The binary principle now means that a whole is articulated into two parts (b, c, f, h, h'), then that two halves are in the proportion of plus and minus: a, c, g, b', c', d', e'. Always, however, the binary principle is a creation of Abba Hilqiya's discernment, and in all cases the distinction he makes shows a connection with both his carefulness and his responsibility. In every detail he gives evidence of this.

He who makes distinctions imparts meaning. That which he divides while distinguishing is given meaning: this belongs to that, A is opposite B, this half is useful and that one is not, this is to be rejected, that is desirable. Abba Hilqiya has charged every detail with meaning. *Jedes Leben wird ja erst durch Spaltung und Widerspruch reich und blühend*¹⁴⁾.

¹⁴⁾ Hermann Hesse wrote this in *Narziss und Goldmund*, p. 198 of the Suhrkamp edition.

Making distinctions Abba Hilqiya makes choices and decisions. Every detail he has thought over and after that he has made his personal stand. Nothing is a matter of course to him, but he analyzes into halves of meaning. The way home is divided into road and water and this distinction enables him to handle his foot-wear as economically as he can. He thinks about the borrowed cloak and he analyzes its meaning into "it was loaned to me for one purpose (viz. of enveloping me), for the other purpose (viz. of carrying wood on it) it was not." Therefore he can now decide to put the dead wood on one shoulder and to save the cloak by putting it on the other one. The meaning behind that again is his choice and decision to deal carefully with other people's interests.

However poor Abba Hilqiya may be, as the creator of his every-day life he is rich. He is able to impart meaning to everything and to transform it to a function in a well-considered, adequate and god-pleasing life. Creating by making distinctions is what his God did on a large scale according to Gen. 1; he separated light from darkness, heaven from earth, dry land from water, woman from man "and God saw it was good." Likewise Abba Hilqiya is creator of his world on a small scale; he examines the facts of his situation and sifts them; then all things fall into place.

He lives very consciously. He answers all the questions of the visitors. Every time he speaks straight away and he needs only one sentence for each answer. The narrator does not devote space to reactions to his explanation but creates a staccato-effect by continuing the game of question and answer without interruption. That, too, is meaningful. In that way the narrative portrays Abba Hilqiya as a strong personality who knows very well what he does and why; a personality who is completely behind his actions, even when he seems to be unkind (a), inhospitable (g) or unjust (h).

Two moments in particular reveal to us how soundly and realistically Abba Hilqiya deals with himself. In e' he admits he is not insensible to female beauty. He makes himself vulnerable by admitting that sexuality means a trap-fall to him. At the same time, by making it discussible, he has succeeded in finding the right answer together with his wife—an answer which also does justice to the positive side of sexuality.

At this point it appears that Abba Hilqiya does not make himself better or stronger than he is, but that he shows himself in his true colours. This is also the case in f'. There he says something "you are not known to me" of which the implication (therefore I do not know whether my wife will be safe) may greatly offend his guests. Is not this a trap-fall for many a guest, in that he will apply Abba Hilqiya's word to himself and consider it a motion of no-confidence or an affront? Abba Hilqiya allows himself to make a pretence of rudeness. But pronouncing one's own uncertainty is different from insinuating suspicion. In fact he does not want to give his opinion on the quality of his visitors but only on his

own reality: because he cannot be certain of the others and feeling responsible for his wife, he keeps on the safe side and enters after her.

Abba Hilqiya is himself, in that his choices and the resultant actions are entirely his own; he feels responsible for them. He is a whole man and that is his strength and sanctity.

His modesty is what makes him a striking personality, his humility raises him above the rabbis, his simplicity makes us almost forget how complicated—both psychically and ethically—the preceding procedures of decision-making in him are, his self-acceptance and natural behaviour undermine the complacent certainty of the visitors, who had included the miracle of God's mercy in their programme beforehand, as nothing out of the common. His authority is great because he is not an authority and does not need to be one. By being entirely himself he is completely 'aware' of things—which means that from great inner calm and in great concentration he deals adequately with one decisive moment in his life after another. In his every-day life there is a secret force which points far beyond every-day things. Abba Hilqiya knows of that mystery, but he does not speak about it, for it will get lost when people speak about it directly or when they want to point it out. Better it is to keep that secret implicit by living it.

The background - "woman/house/finding"

The binary principle governing Abba Hilqiya's actions is a creation by the narrator. It also occurs twice outside a-h, neatly spread over the couple of guests and the married couple, and moreover placed in such a way that the block a-h is enframed by it:

I,4-5 ... *l'ēbēteh*, at home they did not find him
... in the field they found him.

(a-h)

i he stood in one corner, *d'ēbēhū* in the other corner.

The cloud appeared on the side of *d'ēbēhū* (and not on his side)

The symmetrical position asks for an interpretation which makes a connection between these sentences round a-h. Such an interpretation is made necessary and the connection is made visible by the end of the story, where we read in i':

"why did the cloud appear first over the corner where the master's *d'ēbēhū* was standing?"

"because *ittē tā šēkiḥā b'ēbē tā*
wamqārē bā h'ānāyē tāh."

With this clever find the narrator underlines that "woman, house, finding" are key-words and at the very end he interweaves the lines of meaning which they represent—so that i' becomes the right ending¹⁵). Word for word *šēkiḥā b'ēbē tā* (the woman) is opposite *l'ēbēteh lā'āškāhū* (the man).

¹⁵) For this very reason the explanation about the highwaymen is also superfluous—we shall come back to this later.

The great importance of the woman, already visible in the events, is now made explicit by the main character (in i he had said as much implicitly) and explained. She stands for safety, security. In the hard world which always makes him face difficult decisions and which gives him pain and scratches she represents the blessings of safety, security, warmth. God joins in and underlines it by granting the blessing of rain (which also symbolizes: fertility, life) through her. In this context the word *d^ebēl^ehū*, elsewhere become trite, gets back its original efficacy owing to the play upon *bētā* and *škḥ*: the woman belongs fundamentally to the house, her being pervades it and makes it a home where Abba Ḥilqiya can find basic values like security and love, after a hard day. Only there is he prepared to undertake the intercession.—A man who does not find such a thing does not find himself, and he who has not found himself cannot mean anything to another man¹⁶).

This explanation links well up with a correct interpretation of the last two words, which are not easy. Of the possible translations, which are at least eight¹⁷), the most meaningful translation seems to me the one which regards *mqr̄b* as an active part. pa'el¹⁸) and which does not choose between 'use' or 'pleasure' as a rendering of *hānāy^etā*¹⁹). So literally: "and she makes her *hānāy^etā* draw near". Getting round the dilemma use/pleasure I choose this free but accurate translation: "and she elicits well-being"²⁰). Malter's translation, too, "the good she does is direct", is attractive, albeit based on an interpretation²¹) which unfortu-

¹⁶) The value of this text, the harmony and warmth we observe in it, is easily dashed to pieces between two mill-stones: the present discussion, often conflict, between conservatives who want to keep dictating women what they are for (kitchen, children, church) and women's lib, radical or otherwise.—As for me, I regard the emancipation of women as a matter of course and do not consider it an impediment to my admiration for this text, which one cannot do justice to by measuring with modern standards only.

¹⁷) It depends on whether one a) has in the text *hnyl* or *hnyth*, b) takes *mqr̄b* as a passive or an active part. pa'el and c) wants to render *hānāy^etā* with 'use' or with 'pleasure'. As regards a) I prefer the text of Margolis and Malter which does offer the 3rd pers. fem. sg. suff., because I consider the variant without suffix — to be found e.g. with J. Levy, *Wörterbuch über die Talmudim und Midraschim* (2nd ed., Berlin 1924), I, p. 481a, with the translation "der Nutzen (Genuss) ist nahe" — colourless.

¹⁸) In the other manuscriptural witness, MS Mü 95, *mqr̄b* occurs twice, as part of a much longer explanation in i'. In that text *mqr̄b* is, in my opinion, both times a passive part., "direct" — cf. the Soncino-translation.

¹⁹) For this choice is a dilemma of the target language, e.g. in German "Nutzen/Genuss" with J. Levy, but it is not present in the source language, Aramaic. — A word like *ṭōb/ṭāb* does not distinguish between usefulness and pleasure either.

²⁰) In Dutch we can easily say: "haar inzet is weldadig".

²¹) He offers it in note 330 on p. 350. For this specific view Malter has obviously based himself on the version of the ending as found in the textus receptus — which methodically must be called improper. In the textus receptus i', Abba Ḥilqiya's last answer, is as follows: "Because a wife stays at home and gives bread to the poor which they can at once enjoy whilst I give them money which they cannot at once enjoy" (thus the Soncino-translation by J. Rabinowitz). It seems to me highly

nately narrows by filling in *hānāy^etā* as "food". The text itself is not specific at all (hence my free translation) and that is why we must not understand *hānāy^etā* in the reduced sense, but in the large, extensive sense so that it includes both safety and love-making and food as well. It is essential for this short eulogy on his wife that Abba Ḥilqiya does not "define" her excellency, i.e. does not fix it within precise bounds. The same holds good for "use/pleasure": her "pleasantness" includes both aspects.

Abba Ḥilqiya's last words²²)—I called them a eulogy—indeed read well like a verse and exactly because of this quality they form a fine ending. They are five words, spread over two half-verses, and they could have been taken directly from Prov. 31 or they could be the title of that eulogy of the *ḥokmā* on the good housewife:

(*miššum d^e*) *ṭit^etā š^ekīhā b^ebētā* // *wamqār^ebā hānāy^etah*
o o o o o o o o // o o o o o o o o

This scansion which can never be more than a coarse approach renders the word-stress as an ictus, like in Biblical metrics. The first half-verse with its passive part. 'found' is static. In that way it indicates the ground of being; against this background of sound rest action becomes possible in the second half-verse—*m^eqār^ebā* I regard as an active participle²³)—, the woman's dynamic is her warmth which radiates to her family and which surrounds them with loving care.

probable that this version is a secondary one, arisen from the need to explain the indeed very lapidary original text (so "*wmqr̄b hnyl*"). For me it is too precise, too symmetrical and somewhat childish. N.B. MS Mü 95, too, only offers the short version: *mšwm d'yit skyh bbyl wmqr̄b hnyl*. Dalman vocalizes the last two words in his *Dialektproben* p. 31 as *um^eqār^ebā h^anaytah* and translates them in note 10 of the same work: "nahegebracht (unmittelbar) ist der von ihr dargebotene Genuss."

²²) The textus receptus adds two more lines; they are: "because there were some highwaymen (Soncino-translation: robbers) living in my neighbourhood; I prayed that they should die, while she prayed that they should improve their ways." They are absent in MS Mü 95. Malter, who like Margolis puts them between brackets, considers them "a later insertion based on b.Ber. 10a" (p. 350, note 331). I consider this highly probable, too, and I omit the lines on the ground of even more considerations, viz.:

- already the introduction "*ṭi nammē*" suggests that it is an insertion from elsewhere or later;
- the words used in them do not closely correspond with those used in the question, whereas this is always the case in the nine answers that precede.
- the explanation they give (Abba Ḥilqiya vindictive, his wife, much more gentle, hopes for reclamation) makes a rather cheap and vulgar, on the other hand too pious an impression and is in a different tone in respect of what precedes.
- I presume that this explanation arose from the need of an easy black and white explanation to replace the extremely brief, almost inscrutable line with *mqr̄b*.

²³) The order subject + predicate in the first half-verse is not a certain but a probable indication that also in the second half-verse there would be a subject + predicate order if *mqr̄b* is passive. This argument is not evidence but some support for my view that *hnyl* is not subject but object.

Conclusion

The visitors of Abba Ḥilqiya were not quite dense to the surprising aspect of their encounter with him; or as Chullin 75^b has it: *kul mill^etā datmihā midkar d^ekīrī lah^enāšē²⁴*).

Nine times Abba Ḥilqiya gives a clear explanation. Do they now feel appealed to? The text has an open ending by not telling us. Now it is the turn of the listeners in the story to decide on their attitude. But in their footsteps the listeners outside the story are following. By telling this story the Haggadist makes an unspoken appeal to his audience: do you take Abba Ḥilqiya's example to heart? Are you enjoying it? Take in its values through enjoyment and of their own accord they will contribute to your growth as a human being, as a believer.

As an example of Haggadah this narrative is edifying in the good sense of the word. To the many poor people among its original audience it returns their dignity and it renews and supports with people the idea that they can be unique and extraordinary, however plainly and anonymously they may live. Being a whole person is not an unattainable thing, Abba Ḥilqiya's holiness is essentially not inimitable.

At this point we arrive at a concept which has to do with the literary genre of this text. This story is a legend, for it tells (a day from) a saint's life and it is a summons to *imitatio*. Abba Ḥilqiya is not described as an unattainable man of consequence who is of a supernatural stature, but as an every way normal man whom one can empathize with, a man who quite concretely and practically confines himself to his situation and environment. He is "imitable" in every way and that quality is a feature of the legend²⁵).

²⁴) "All that creates surprise draws people's attention".

²⁵) A. Jolles, *Einfache Formen*, 1930 (= Darmstadt, 1958), chapter "Legende".

AFKORTINGEN — ABRÉVIATIONS

AA	Archäologischer Anzeiger	JARCE	Journal of the American Research Centre in Egypt
AASOR	Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research	JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature
AASyr	Annales Archéologiques de la Syrie	JCS	Journal of Cuneiform Studies
AcOr	Acta Orientalia, Societates Orientales Danica, Norvegica, Svecica	JDAI	Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts
AfO	Archiv für Orientforschung	JEA	Journal of Egyptian Archaeology
ÄgAb	Ägyptologische Abhandlungen	JEOL	Jaarbericht Ex Oriente Lux
ÄgFo	Ägyptologische Forschungen	JESHO	Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology	JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies
AnEb	Annali di Ebla	JNSL	Journal of North-West Semitic Languages
AnSt	Anatolian Studies	JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
AnOr	Analecta Orientalia	JSOT	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament
AOAT(S)	Alter Orient und Altes Testament (Sonderreihe)	JSS	Journal of Semitic Studies
ARM	Archives royales de Mari	LÄ	Lexikon der Ägyptologie
ArOr	Archiv Orientalni	LAPO	Littératures anciennes du Proche-Orient
ASAE	Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte	MANE	Monographs on the Ancient Near East (Malibu)
BA	Biblical Archaeologist	MÄS	Münchener Ägyptologische Studien
BaMi	Baghdader Mitteilungen	MDAI	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts
BASOR	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research	MDOG	Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft
BIE	Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte	MEOL	Mededelingen en Verhandelingen ... Ex Oriente Lux
BIFAO	Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale	MIO	Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientalforschung
BiOr	Bibliotheca Orientalis	NHS	Nag Hammadi Studies
BJV	Berliner Jahrbuch für Vor- und Frühgeschichte	OLZ	Orientalische Literaturzeitung
BM	Bibliotheca Mesopotamica	OMRO	Oudheidkundige Mededelingen Rijks-Museum van Oudheden te Leiden
CAH ²	Cambridge Ancient History, revised edition (1970 ff.)	OrAnt	Oriens Antiquus
CdEg	Chronique d'Égypte	OrNS	Orientalia, Nova Series
CRAI	Compte Rendu de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres	PEQ	Palestine Exploration Quarterly
CRRAI	Compte Rendu de la ... Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale	RA	Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie Orientale
DB(S)	Dictionnaire de la Bible (Supplément)	RB	Revue Biblique
HÄB	Hildesheimer ägyptologische Beiträge	RdEg	Revue d'Égyptologie
HUCA	Hebrew Union College Annual	RépGéo	Répertoire géographique des textes cunéiformes (TAVO Beihefte)
IEJ	Israel Exploration Journal	RHR	Revue de l'Histoire des Religions
IrAnt	Iranica Antiqua	RHA	Revue Hittite et Asiatique
JA	Journal Asiatique	RIA	Reallexikon der Assyriologie
JANES	Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University		
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society		

RQ	Revue de Qumran	WVDOG	Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orientgesellschaft
RSO	Rivista degli Studi Orientali	WZKM	Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes
SAK	Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur	YNER	Yale Near Eastern Researches
SAOC	Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization	ZA	Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie
SEb	Studi Eblaiti	ZAW	Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
SMANE	Sources and Monographs from the Ancient Near East	ZÄS	Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde
SMS	Syro-Mesopotamian Studies (Malibu)	ZDMG	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft
TAVO	Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients	ZDPV	Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-vereins
UF	Ugarit-Forschungen		
VDI	Vestnik Drevnej Istorii		
VT(S)	Vetus Testamentum (Supplement)		
WO	Die Welt des Orients		

Latest Volumes in the series

Mededelingen en Verhandelingen van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch
Genootschap "Ex Oriente Lux"
(Mémoires de la Société Orientale "Ex Oriente Lux")

19. J. ZANDEE, *The Teachings of Silvanus' and Clement of Alexandria. A new document of Alexandrian theology.* Leiden, 1977, viii + 166 p., 4to f 55.—

The author analyses the concepts and terminology of 'Silvanus' (Nag Hammadi Codex VII (4): 84, 15-118, 7) against the background of hellenized Christianity, especially of the 2nd century A.D. A detailed comparison between 'Silvanus' teachings and the philosophical theology of Clement shows how the synthesis grown between the Christian theology on the one hand and the Late Stoic and Middle Platonic philosophical and moral teachings on the other hand, is also tangible in 'Silvanus', who was a popular preacher rather than a philosophical theologian. The book contains extensive indices of quotations, Greek terms and subjects.

20. R. BORGER, *Drei Klassizisten: Alma Tadema, Ebers, Vosmaer. Mit einer Bibliographie der Werke Alma Tadema's.* Leiden, 1978, iv + 50 p., 3 pl., 4to f 30.—

The author sketches life and work of the Dutch painter Lourens Alma Tadema (1836-1912), one of the most successful painters of the Victorian age. Dr. Borger, a professional orientalist, documents Tadema's interest in historical and archaeological subjects, in particular in ancient Egypt and classical (especially Roman) antiquity, as aroused by visits to the British Museum and Pompeii in 1862-1863. An analysis of Tadema's contacts with the egyptologist Ebers and the Dutch classicist Vosmaer—friends who used Tadema's paintings to illustrate their literary creations—serves to document their ideas and artistic concepts. A full bibliography of all Tadema's 409 works adds to the importance of this publication for art historians.

21. M. STOL, *On Trees, Mountains, and Millstones in the Ancient Near East.* Leiden, 1979, xii + 104 p., 4to f 40.—

In this volume the author, an assyriologist with a classical education, successfully analyses a number of problems and establishes a variety of facts concerning the three items mentioned in the title, which prove to be interrelated by their names, physical characteristics and spatial or temporal distribution. This study may be qualified as a philological and culturo-historical exploratory trip, in the course of which all available sources are used: cuneiform texts, egyptological data, ancient word-lists, classical authors, biblical, Jewish, and Arabic writings, ancient itineraries, and modern geographical and botanical handbooks. Subjects treated are i.a. the pistachio and the terebinth (with their fruits and oils), balsam and other healing resins (such as mastic, opopanax and galbanum), ebony (in a chapter contributed by K. van Lerberghe), and the Jebel Sindjār with its stones, in particular in connection with the question of the origin of ancient Mesopotamian millstones. Lexical and geographical indices help to make the contents of this volume easily accessible.

Latest Volumes in the series

"Mémoires de la Société Orientale Ex Oriente Lux"

- 14 B. H. STRICKER, *De Geboorte van Horus I* (Leiden, 1963, 87 p., 14 ill., 4to) f 30.—

- 15 J. ZANDEE, *An Ancient Egyptian Crossword Puzzle* (Leiden, 1966, vi + 79 p., frontispiece, 3 ill., 4to) f 25.—

A publication of a new Theban tomb inscription, which, besides for its religious contents, is remarkable for the fact that part of the text has to be read in the way of a crossword puzzle. The author analyses this technique (a few more Egyptian examples of which are known) and discusses the inscription in a broad commentary, condensed into an extensive index of religious terminology and texts quoted.

- 16 J. HOFTIJZER, *Religio Aramaica. Godsdienstige verschijnselen in Aramese inscripties* (Leiden, 1968, viii + 63 p., 1 map, 4pl., 4to) f 25.—

The writer, author of the *Dictionnaire des inscriptions sémitiques de l'Ouest*, has collected and analysed in this book what may be learned about the religion and the pantheon of the Aramaeans from their inscriptions. After a general introduction dealing with 'Aramaean and Aramaic' follow four chapters, in which the 'Old Aramaic Period' (9th-6th centuries B.C.), and the religions of the Nabataeans, Palmyra and Hatra are discussed. The book contains extensive bibliographical introductions and notes, and an index summarizes all divine names and epithets.

- 17 B. H. STRICKER, *De Geboorte van Horus II* (Leiden, 1968, p. 88-207, 12 fig., 4to) f 30.—

- 18 B. H. STRICKER, *De Geboorte van Horus III* (Leiden, 1975, p. 208-347, 13 fig., 4to) f 50.—

In this third volume the author studies the ancient conceptions of nature, cohesion, vegetable and animal soul, potentiality and actuality, and reason or mind, in so far as they have a bearing on the understanding of the embryo, the birth and the origin of human life.

- 19 J. ZANDEE, *'The Teachings of Silvanus' and Clement of Alexandria. A new document of Alexandrian theology* (Leiden, 1977, viii + 166 p., 4to) f 55.—

The author analyses the concepts and terminology of 'Silvanus' (Codex VII (4): 84, 15-118, 7) against the background of hellenized Christianity, especially of the 2nd century A.D. A detailed comparison between 'Silvanus' teachings and the philosophical theology of Clement shows how the synthesis grown between the Christian theology on the one hand and the Late Stoic and Middle Platonic philosophical and moral teachings on the other hand, is also tangible in 'Silvanus', who was a popular preacher rather than a philosophical theologian. The book contains extensive indices of quotations, Greek terms and subjects.

- 20 R. BORGER, *Drei Klassizisten: Alma Tadema, Ebers, Vosmaer. Mit einer Bibliographie der Werke Alma Tadema's* (Leiden, 1978, iv + 50 p., 3 pl., 1 in color, 4to) f 25.—

The author sketches life and work of the Dutch painter Lourens Alma Tadema (1836-1912), one of the most successful painters of the Victorian age (especially after he had settled in London in 1870), whose works have met renewed interest since ca. 1970 through exhibitions, publications and art sales. The author, a professional orientalist, documents Tadema's interests in historical and archaeological subjects, in particular ancient Egypt and classical (especially Roman) antiquity, due to visits to the British Museum and Pompeii in 1862-63. An analysis of Tadema's contacts with the egyptologist Ebers and the Dutch classicist Vosmaer—his friends, who i.a. used Tadema's paintings to illustrate their literary creations—documents their ideas and artistic concepts. A full bibliography of all Tadema's 409 works adds to the importance of this publication for art historians.